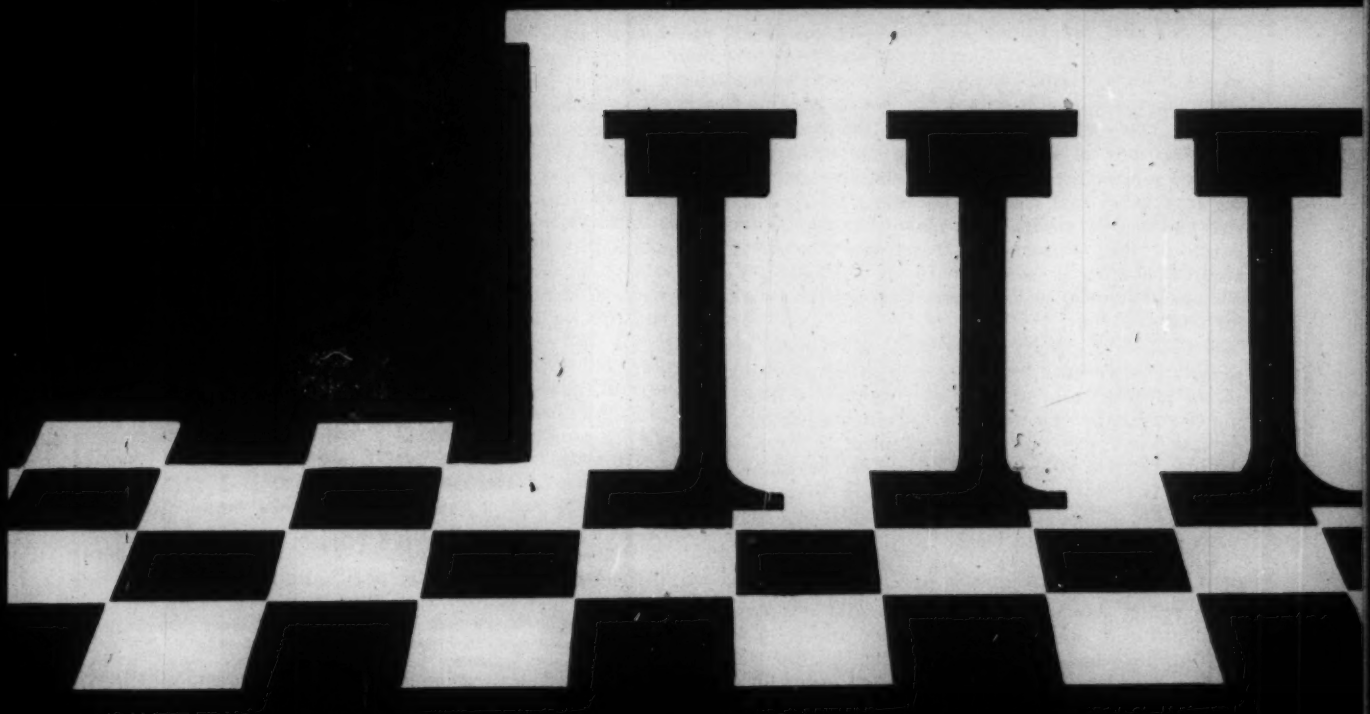
THE BURNING TRUTH IN THE SOUTH



THE LIBERAL RETREAT James A. Wechsler

THE GERMANS AGAIN Milton Mayer

CASTRO'S CUBA Karl E. Meyer

Office memo

"LAST YEAR, at about this time," said Peter Endres in a letter from a San Francisco suburb, "a friend of mine sent me a five month subscription to *The Progressive*, like those offered on the back covers of last month's issue. I thanked him, but didn't pay much attention to the first couple of issues, as I was not familiar with your magazine, and there seems so much to read. But the third number arrived when I was laid up with a sprained ankle, and had time on my hands. I found myself reading it from cover to cover.

"Now, after a year, I'm an enthusiastic fan, and I'm sending several of your special subscriptions to friends. I am impressed, from my own experience, by how much more effective a short term subscription is, rather than just a sample copy, in gaining new readers. If I had received only one issue, I would not now be a permanent subscriber, and would have missed a great experience."

Thank you, Mr. Endres of California, for giving us an excellent example of an experience shared by a good many of our readers. Many times over the years subscribers have commented on how it took a few issues for *The Progressive* to "catch on," for a variety of reasons.

It was out of such experience that *The Progressive* evolved a low-cost, effective, cooperative plan for expanding readership that has now become a springtime institution among subscribers. Here's how it works: For a limited period of time, for every two five-month new subscriptions entered by a reader at a cost of only $1.50 each, *The Progressive* will send another one free—*three subscriptions for only $3.*

It is clear that such a low price can hardly cover expenses. But we have found we can afford this once-a-year specal offer because such a large number of those receiving introductory subscriptions renew for a full term at the regular rate. And the hearty response of subscribers to the opportunity of sending subscriptions at such a modest cost has been an important factor in swelling the circulation of *The Progressive* until now it surpasses that of any other publication in its field.

Subscribers select new readers not only from among their personal friends, but include clergymen, business and labor union associates, local editors and libraries, municipal and state political office holders, and civic leaders—the "opinion makers" of the community. For those who have a problem choosing new readers—and this occurs more frequently with subscribers who send six or nine or more subscriptions—*The Progressive* provides names from our substantial list of potential readers, at home and abroad, who are eager to receive the magazine but for a variety of reasons cannot subscribe for themselves.

We urge all of our subscribers to join in this cooperative venture by filling out the handy order form on the back covers of this issue, and mailing it in the postpaid envelope enclosed elsewhere in the magazine.

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THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Peace and Politics

POLITICAL ANALYSTS who live with an ear to the ground and a finger to the wind have missed what seems to us one of the most significant political developments of this Presidential year—the widespread reappearance of words and ideas like peace, negotiation, and disarmament which had been retired for so long from the campaign vocabulary of practical politicians.

It is no accident, of course, that the professionals whose hearts are in the precincts are now concerned with peace and ways to achieve it. For survey after survey of public opinion convincingly demonstrates that the people who make up the precincts regard the negotiated settlement of differences between the Communist world and the West as America's number one priority in this age of nuclear weapons.

The most recent evidence to support this conclusion turned up the other day in a referendum of his constituency conducted by Representative Robert Kastenmeier of Wisconsin's second Congressional district. The district is reasonably representative of the nation; its five counties include a modest amount of industry, substantial agricultural interests, many merchants, and a considerable white-collar professional group. The district was frequently Progressive in the LaFollette days, almost consistently Republican thereafter, and is now represented by a Democrat.

In his questionnaire to the people of his district, Representative Kastenmeier asked them to list their deepest concerns. In the field of foreign affairs, the voters expressed their conviction—*by a margin of nearly three to one*—that "ending the cold war" was more important than "increasing military strength."

The Congressman was quick to evaluate the results of his poll. There has been a "missile debate" in Washington about the need to strengthen "the nation's capability to destroy a potential enemy," he reminded his constituents. "But your replies indicate the debate strikes no responsive chord back home; rather that people are thinking of achieving peace by working for peace—not by spending more money to preserve the dangerous stalemate."

Kastenmeier's conclusion was soon to be confirmed by an extraordinary—but completely unreported—development in Wisconsin's Presidential primary race between Democratic Senators Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota and John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. When the two Democrats launched their campaigns, political analysts expected they would vie with each other in condemning the Eisenhower Administration for creating a "missile gap" and "endangering the nation's security" by not calling for larger appropriations for defense.

But just the opposite happened. Kennedy and Humphrey vied with each other in condemning the Eisenhower Administration—*because it was not taking a more positive and creative approach toward negotiated disarmament.*

Correspondents covering the campaign were so bewitched by the contest between a Catholic and a Congregationalist that they failed to observe—or at least to report—that both Catholic and Congregationalist completely shunned not only the Acheson-Truman addiction to the cold war, but rejected as a principal weapon in their campaign arsenals the Stuart Symington-Lyndon Johnson insistence that the "missile gap" is the big issue of 1960.

To understand the significance of what happened in this curious campaign it is essential to recall the events that immediately preceded it:

¶ The Republicans had succeeded in establishing themselves, for the moment anyway, as the party of peace—largely because of Vice President Nixon's journey to the Soviet Union, President Eisenhower's reception of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and the President's decision—now that John Foster Dulles was dead—to participate in a summit conference this spring.

¶ The Democrats had succeeded in reviving old fears that it was the party of war—largely because cold war soldiers like former President Harry Truman and former Secretary of State Dean Acheson ridiculed negotiation with the Soviets, and because too many articulate Democrats in Congress could find nothing more evil to attack in the Eisenhower Administration than its failure to demand even greater appropriations for armaments.

It is against this background that the conduct of Presidential Candidates Kennedy and Humphrey in Wisconsin seems unusually significant. Both appeared to repudiate the Acheson-Truman coolness toward negotiation; they emphasized in almost the same language the urgent need to push ahead with more and more talks with the Soviets on every major issue and most notably disarmament. Both were quick to identify themselves with President Eisenhower's apparent willingness to conclude an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests. Both were significantly silent on the "missile gap." Both emphasized the need to establish new instruments for peacemaking, Humphrey by renewing his appeal for a National Peace Agency and Kennedy by countering with his recommendation for the establishment of an Arms Control Research Agency, both of which would be designed to consolidate and effectuate an affirmative American program of disarmament.

During his intensive campaign, which carried him to every part of Wisconsin, Kennedy struck hard at the urgent need for a far more effective and affirmative approach to the problem of disarmament. In a number of speeches he denounced the Eisenhower Administration—not because it wasn't spending enough on rocket missiles, but because of its lack of preparation and policy in the field of peacemaking.

"We have had Presidential speeches, Presidential advisers, and Presidential commissions on disarmament—but no policy," Kennedy said repeatedly. "We were not prepared when we went to the disarmament conference in Geneva. We are meeting the Russians at the summit this spring to discuss, among other things, disarmament—but we have no idea what our stand will be. We have participated in previous conferences—on disarmament, nuclear testing, and surprise attack—but our conferees in every instance have been ill-prepared and inadequately instructed.

"I am certain that the President is sincere when he says we want disarmament—but I am also afraid that the rest of the world is justified in wondering whether we really do."

Kennedy echoed a view long emphasized in *The Progressive* that there are "many powerful voices in the government—both in and out of the Pentagon—who do not want disarmament—or, professing to want it, do not really believe in it."

To these forces, he said, "disarmament is still merely a fuzzy ideal for fuzzy idealists. There can be no disarmament, they say, until world tensions have eased—or until we know for certain that the Russians will live up to their agreements—or until a foolproof inspection system can be worked out—or until the Russians give up Communism and its dreams of world domination. There can be no disarmament, in short, according to these Pentagon and other policy makers, until—to use Mr. Khrushchev's term—the shrimp whistles.

"But who are the true realists—those interested in serious efforts at disarmament, or those who talk of war and weapons as though these were the good old days of the prenuclear era? The utter folly of the present arms race requires a new and different look at where we are headed."

Kennedy's indictment of the Administration's failures in the field of disarmament occasionally bordered on the sensational. The Massachusetts Democrat, for example, accused the Administration of duplicity in sometimes proposing arms control measures which it knew in advance "could not possibly be accepted" by the Soviets. When the Russians make concessions to our proclaimed position, Kennedy charged, our delegates are totally unprepared to go on from there. For all our insistence on foolproof inspection and enforcement, he asserted on the campaign stump, we still don't have anything that "represents a single, clear-cut, well-defined, realistic American inspection proposal" for nuclear testing.

In emphasizing the need for research facilities for peacemaking, Kennedy made the startling but little publicized statement that "what little research has been done has too often been negative—designing ways of evading proposed detection or inspection systems instead of perfecting them—demonstrating what won't work instead of what will."

Humphrey, too, in countless appearances before Wisconsin voters, lashed out at "mistaken policies" and "misguided individuals" that stand in the way of developing a genuinely effective disarmament program. Drawing on his considerable experience as chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, the Minnesotan tangled frequently with the Eisenhower Administration—not because it wasn't pouring more money into missiles, but because it had failed to coordinate the nation's efforts toward peace, and lagged in developing workable control measures for disarmament.

"The United States," Humphrey declared, "cannot convincingly accuse the Soviet Union of refusing to accept adequate control in disarmament unless we present to the Soviets specific proposals for control. This we have failed to do, except in the area of test ban negotiations, since 1952."

Burck in The Chicago Sun-Times

Observation Post

In arguing to Wisconsin voters that the nation needs a National Peace Agency, Humphrey pointed out that "no single agency of the government has been given the responsibility or the funds to do an adequate job of studying the control problem. Today at least six agencies of our government are involved in and concerned with the technical problems connected with the controlled cessation of nuclear weapons tests. There is no one agency or person to coordinate this research or to see that decisions are made. This situation is indefensible.

"There must be American leadership, American drive, American ingenuity to make a breakthrough that would end the arms race and secure the safety of our nation at the same time. There must be a way out.

"The truth is that we have never seriously, massively, intensively tried to put our scientific and technological capability to work to create the technical basis for a world security system, or a force for peace.

"We have never undertaken a Manhattan project for peace. Nearly two decades ago, the leaders of science were able to come to the political leadership of this nation and say that it appeared possible to create a nuclear weapon—given sufficient funds and leadership.

"More recently, science was able to present to the political leadership of the world the possibility of space exploration—again given sufficient funds and leadership.

"Today, if we are willing to invest the necessary funds, time, research, and talent to harness the greatest minds in science throughout the world, we surely can devise a system

of inspection and enforcement techniques that would provide against double-dealing and secret preparations for any great war.

"I submit we have not even tried."

When the Wisconsin campaign was over and the votes counted, the Editor of *The Progressive* talked with both candidates and their campaign managers. They were unanimous in asserting that the quest for peace represents the dominant concern of the electorate, and that people everywhere, whatever their political affiliation or economic status, are far more interested in discussing approaches to peace than methods of intensifying the arms race.

"Every type of audience I faced," said Humphrey, "showed an intense interest in having our government move forward toward disarmament and peace. On every occasion that offered an opportunity for questions and give-and-take discussion, I could sense from what people said and the way they said it that they want negotiations with the Russians to go forward until we have reached agreements that will assure enduring peace. This is the issue that concerns most people most."

Kennedy concurred in this conclusion. "The hope for peaceful settlement of all outstanding issues with the Soviet Union is uppermost in people's minds," he said. "Invariably they responded with enthusiasm when I talked of the need to end the arms race and the cold war, and their hearty concurrence was clear when I emphasized that mere words and hopes will not achieve peace—that we must have strong leadership, imaginative thinking, and concrete deeds to develop a genuinely affirmative American foreign policy."

It would be a treacherous mistake, of course, to make too much of all this. But we believe there is some solid hope in the fact that two professional politicians seeking the Presidency in 1960 are competing with rival plans for mapping the road to peace and disarmament, that both have repudiated the cold war philosophy of their party's elders, that both refused to make an issue of the so-called missile gap, and that both concluded their campaigns with the conviction that words and ideas like peace, negotiation, and disarmament are not only good policy but good politics.

Drugging the Public

Senator Estes Kefauver's doggedly persistent inquiry into the high cost of drugs and the enormous profits of the drug industry has concluded its fact-finding phase and has now moved into a search for solutions to the problems uncovered. The testimony of the parade of witnesses which began last fall has revealed layer after layer of deception, profiteering, and monopoly, much of which has been reported in these pages in recent months. But the closing days—and nights—of testimony uncovered practices of the drug industry more serious and sordid than the profiteering charges.

Two doctors, one of whom had succeeded the other as medical director of a leading drug firm, both testified they had resigned in protest against the company's "perverted marketing attitudes" and advertising, which they found misleading, sometimes dangerous, unethical, and offensive to their "sense of morality." Drs. Martin A. Seidell's and Haskell J. Weinstein's testimony regarding a division of the Charles Pfizer drug company included these charges:

¶ Much of what the drug industry calls "research" is really promotion of products and financing of meaningless "studies" which serve no scientific or medical purpose, but are intended to keep the brand name of the drug before the medical profession.

¶ To introduce a new drug, the company prepared literature for doctors claiming a record of "more than a year's clinical testing" when the drug was only four months old, and the testing cited involved only one of the component parts of the drug.

¶ Many so-called "scientific articles" on new drugs in medical journals are prepared by the drug houses themselves. There is one publication which charges a fee for publishing an article—and then sells reprints to the drug firm which uses them in promoting the drug among doctors.

¶ Sales of an antibiotic found to have "side effects" that are harmful, or even fatal, were stepped up by an advertising campaign which virtually ignored this danger.

¶ Physicians are not alerted to the fact that some drugs clear up symptoms but leave the basic condition uncorrected.

The root of most of these unscrupulous practices is greed—anything to boost sales and swell profits, already at record-breaking heights. The drug industry as a whole realizes a net return, after taxes, of twenty per cent, more than any other industry. Carter Products, which has a virtual monopoly on tranquilizers, made a net profit in 1958 of thirty-eight per cent, and the family of its president, Henry H. Hoyt, enjoyed a tidy $5 million return for that year alone—not including Hoyt's handsome salary.

The final phase of the Kefauver investigation, now beginning, is aimed at finding methods of correcting abuses, and bringing some sense of regulation and responsibility into an industry which literally gambles with life and death for the sake of more dollars.

Dr. Weinstein recommended several corrective measures to the committee:

¶ Only genuine research costs should be claimed as such.

¶ Advertising should emphasize the generic name of a drug and only mention the trade name.

¶ The price to the consumer should appear on each piece of advertising going to physicians.

¶ A public health agency should be given responsibility for evaluating drugs before marketing.

Senator Kefauver has agreed with many of these recommendations and has suggested as well that competition be restored to the drug industry by compelling licensing of patented drugs, and that small firms be strengthened by Food and Drug Com-

mission inspections of all drug facilities.

So far the drug industry has made no move to lower prices or clean its own house; instead it has launched a huge propaganda campaign to persuade Congress, the public, and the press that the Kefauver committee's findings are false. We stand in considerable awe of the power of the Madison Avenue machine, but with Senator Estes Kefauver, a tough and resilient opponent, leading the fight for the consumer, there is genuine hope for basic reform.

The Heart of Texas

The city of San Antonio, deep in the heart of Texas, is without question a Southern city, but there are characteristics of this community of a half million people which set it somewhat apart from the "typical" city of the deep South. One important factor is its substantial Mexican-American population, with its strong Latin cultural influences. Because this group is overwhelmingly Catholic, a religious balance prevails in San Antonio which is rare in the Protestant South. Still another factor is its relatively small Negro population—only six per cent, less than in many a large Northern city. Yet until recent years San Antonio was for generations a completely typical Southern city in its segregation patterns.

Today, San Antonio is almost completely integrated in its public facilities, schools, parks, buses, swimming pools, golf courses—and now its lunch counters. The achievement of this goal, without strife or bitterness and with little fanfare, highlights another characteristic of San Antonio—perhaps the most important—which, unhappily for the nation, makes it unrepresentative of the South. This vital factor is the quality, the courage, and the foresight of its leadership—religious, political, business, and civic—which has faced, in interracial harmony and cooperation, the great challenge of integration with firm, positive measures, carrying the community along without a single major adverse incident.

The latest resolute step forward came when the student sit-downs began in the South. Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic leaders of both races quietly conferred with department and variety store management. *Before any demonstration occurred,* thirty lunch counters were desegregated. The community accepted still one more change in its Southern social customs with ease and grace, and, on the whole, with indifference. Negro spokesmen said they expect all restaurants to desegregate shortly, and that hotels and motels would be next to open their doors. San Antonio is on the way to becoming a completely "open city." Significantly, it was only two days later that Jackie Robinson, the Negro baseball star, was the guest speaker at an interracial banquet which had been arranged long in advance of the lunch counter opening.

San Antonio's tradition of solving its racial problems before they explode in violence or hate goes back at least to the period before the 1954 school desegregation decision. When the Supreme Court handed down its historic opinion, Catholic Archbishop Robert E. Lucey had already desegregated San Antonio's parochial schools, peacefully and in orderly fashion, in defiance of then-existing law. The success of his example made it easy for the public schools to follow suit. From that time forward, San Antonio's public doors have opened one after another, sometimes before Negroes themselves actually raised a hand to knock.

Herblock in the Washington Post

"That Gives Us A Surplus of Four Tires, Right There. And If We Take Out the Engine—"

San Antonio, with all its exceptional characteristics, brings into sharp relief the tragic lack of leadership in much of the rest of the South. It is this lack of leadership on the part of responsible government officials, more than any other factor, that has placed a back-breaking, heart-breaking burden on the Negro, forcing him to fight a bitter, costly, and sometimes bloody battle for the freedom and equality guaranteed him in the Constitution.

But there is hope that San Antonio's example on the fringe of the South may bear fruit elsewhere. Many religious and civic leaders of Houston and Dallas, in the truly "deep South" of eastern Texas, have been impressed by their neighbor's success, and are striving on an interracial basis to emulate San Antonio's peaceful efforts.

Light from the Sunshine State

A shining example of the kind of courageous political leadership that could quicken the pace of achieving first-class citizenship for Negroes was the recent statement by Governor Leroy Collins of Florida. In an unprecedented radio and television talk deploring the tough resistance to lunch counter sit-downs in Tallahassee, the state capital, Collins said it was "morally wrong" to deny Negroes lunch counter service. If there is "any department of a store the management does not wish to make available to all," Collins declared, "I think the management should close down. It is not required to do this by law . . . but by simple moral justice."

Leroy Collins has spoken out forcefully for civil rights on several occasions, although a Northern liberal would regard his general approach as one of cautious moderation. Alone among governors of southern states, Collins announced that he was establishing a statewide bi-racial advisory committee on race relations and urged cities to take similar action "to consider local racial grievances and find ways . . . to live and work in harmony." Tallahassee officials, who have twice rejected Collins' suggestion, resorted instead to tear gas, arrests, threats, and abuse of

Negro and white students involved in civil rights protest demonstrations.

"This attitude," charged the governor, "has brought about conditions of which I am frankly ashamed and has led to an atmosphere which is disgraceful."

But in spite of obstinate resistance, Governor Collins' courageous leadership has brought progress in Florida. The effectiveness of racism as a political tool has been blunted. School integration has begun, slowly. But most important, Governor Collins opened the way to the development of a climate in which peaceful solutions to racial problems may be found. The candle lighted by the governor of the sunshine state brightens the darkness of the massive resistance of other Southern governors, and dispels some of the shadows of the President's massive indifference.

Point Four Rejuvenation

In his better days, when former President Harry S. Truman laid down a four-point foreign policy program in his inaugural address of January 20, 1949, he wrote into the language a term that has become a worldwide symbol of the generosity, the concern for others, and the creative imagination of the American people. Point Four of President Truman's proposals was to be a "bold new program" which would bring to all the world the benefits of America's great technical and scientific resources. It was conceived as a continuing effort to share our wealth of knowledge and skills with other peoples so that they could more rapidly develop their own human and material resources and improve their standard of living.

In the eleven years since the inauguration of Point Four, thousands of American technicians in every conceivable social and scientific field have gone to every part of the earth to train and teach other peoples to help themselves. But the world's needs have scarcely been scratched, and President Truman's "bold new program" has been much diluted by excessive caution, a military-minded Administration, and a Congress cool toward economic aid.

Now a bold new idea for implementing the Point Four concept has been introduced by Democratic Representative Henry S. Reuss. The Wisconsin Congressman has proposed a Point Four Youth Corps for young American men and women to serve in technical assistance missions. The plan would call for two- or four-year college students or graduates to enlist for a minimum two-year period for work overseas under both government and privately sponsored Point Four programs—work which would utilize their special training and talents.

Justus in the Minneapolis Star

Not Exactly the Tunnel of Love

We concur heartily with the basic objectives of such a youth corps. As outlined by Representative Reuss, they are:

First—To make additional technical manpower available to U.S. agencies and to private agencies carrying out economic, medical, educational, and community development programs in underdeveloped friendly foreign countries.

Second—To assist in broadening the understanding by the peoples of other nations of the ideals and aspirations of Americans, through close contact with young Americans participating in the Point Four Youth Corps.

Third—To offer our young people an opportunity to serve their country in a stimulating way, while broadening their understanding of the problems facing other peoples and nations.

The legislation which Reuss has introduced in the House (and an identical bill brought before the Senate by the late Senator Richard L. Neuberger) asks for a non-governmental study to determine the practicality and advisability of such a corps, with recommendations to be returned to Congress within a year.

It has been suggested that enlistment in the youth corps might be an alternative to military service under the present draft law. But this possibility is by no means an essential part of Reuss' proposal, and we would hope that any study of the plan would not emphasize this feature as one of its recommendations. A more constructive approach, it seems to us, would be to eliminate the military draft and establish the Point Four Youth Corps as a voluntary peace army bringing new life, new ideas, and new skills to peoples all over the world. We are confident that many thousands of our college students would be eager to take advantage of the enormous opportunities which would be opened to them by such a program.

Free World Election

Whenever a Communist country conducts an election, the American press has a field day deriding the absence of choice as the voters are handed ballots containing a single slate representing a single party. But our newspapers are usually busy looking the other way when much the same thing happens in a portion of what we are pleased to call "the free world."

Formosa, so glowingly described in our press as the "bastion of freedom in the Far East," held an election for president recently, and here is what happened:

1. Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was the only candidate allowed on the ballot.

2. The constitution was suspended for the day because the constitution of Nationalist China forbids a third term and Chiang already had two.

3. Blank ballots—the only way electors could vote against Chiang—were thrown out as invalid.

4. More than 85 per cent of the people of the island are native Formosans (Taiwanese), but they were allotted only two per cent of the votes in the electoral college.

Anyone who doesn't see the difference between the free elections in Nationalist China and the rigged elections in Communist China is obviously a tool of the Kremlin.

The Burning Truth in the South

by MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

This article by Dr. King, the celebrated leader of the passive resistance movement in the South, is the first of two studies of the historic sit-down protest of Negro students. The second article by James and Wilma Dykeman Stokely, the prize-winning writing team in the South, will present a first-hand report of how the sit-downs work and what they are achieving. It will appear in the June issue of The Progressive.—THE EDITORS.

AN ELECTRIFYING movement of Negro students has shattered the placid surface of campuses and communities across the South. Though confronted in many places by hoodlums, police guns, tear gas, arrests, and jail sentences, the students tenaciously continue to sit down and demand equal service at variety store lunch counters, and extend their protest from city to city. In communities like Montgomery, Alabama, the whole student body rallied behind expelled students and staged a walkout while state government intimidation was unleashed with a display of military force appropriate to a wartime invasion. Nevertheless, the spirit of self-sacrifice and commitment remains firm, and the state governments find themselves dealing with students who have lost the fear of jail and physical injury.

It is no overstatement to characterize these events as historic. Never before in the United States had so large a body of students spread a struggle over so great an area in pursuit of a goal of human dignity and freedom.

The suddenness with which this development burst upon the nation has given rise to the description "spontaneous." Yet it is not without clearly perceivable causes and precedents. First, we should go back to the ending of World War II. Then, the new will and determination of the Negro were irrevocably generated. Hundreds of thousands of young Negro men were mustered out of the armed forces, and with their honorable discharge papers and G.I. Bill of Rights grants, they received a promise from a grateful nation that the broader democracy for which they had fought would begin to assume reality. They believed in this promise and acted in the conviction that changes were guaranteed. Some changes did appear—but commensurate neither with the promise nor the need.

Struggles of a local character began to emerge, but the scope and results were limited. Few Americans outside the immediately affected areas even realized a struggle was taking place. One perceptible aspect was the steady, significant increase in voting registration which took place, symbolizing the determination of the Negro, particularly the veteran, to make his rights a reality. The number of registered voters reached a point higher than exists today.

The United States Supreme Court decision of 1954 was viewed by Negroes as the delivery of part of the promise of change. In unequivocal language the Court affirmed that "separate but equal" facilities are inherently unequal, and that to segregate a child on the basis of his race is to deny that child equal protection of the law. This decision brought hope to millions of disinherited Negroes who had formerly dared only to dream of freedom. But the implementation of the decision was not to be realized without a sharp and difficult struggle. Through five years of turmoil some advances were achieved. The victory is far from complete, but the determination by Negroes that it will be won is universal.

What relation have these events to the student sit-downs? It was the young veteran who gave the first surge of power to the postwar civil rights movements. It was the high school, college, and elementary school young people who were in the front line of the school desegregation struggle. Lest it be forgotten, the opening of hundreds of schools to Negroes for the first time in history required that there be young Negroes with the moral and physical courage to face the challenges and, all too frequently, the mortal danger presented by mob resistance.

There were such young Negroes in the tens of thousands, and no program for integration failed for want of students. The simple courage of students and their parents should never be forgotten. In the years 1958 and 1959 two massive Youth Marches to Washington for Integrated Schools involved some 40,000 young people who brought with them nearly 500,000 signatures on petitions gathered largely from campuses and youth centers. This mass action infused a new spirit of direct action challenging government to act forthrightly.

Hence for a decade young Negroes

have been steeled by both deeds and inspiration to step into responsible action. These are the precedents for the student struggle of today.

Many related, interacting social forces must be understood if we are to understand history as it is being made. The arresting upsurge of Africa and Asia is remote neither in time nor in space to the Negro of the South. Indeed, the determination of Negro Americans to win freedom from all forms of oppression springs from the same deep longing that motivates oppressed peoples all over the world.

However inadequate forms of education and communication may be, the ordinary Negro Jim Smith knows that in primitive jungle villages in India still illiterate peasants are casting a free ballot for their state and federal legislators. In one after another of the new African states black men form the government, write the laws, and administer the affairs of state. But in state after state in the United States the Negro is ruled and governed without a fragment of participation in civic life. The contrast is a burning truth which has molded a deep determination to end this intolerable condition.

Negroes have also experienced sharp frustrations as they struggle for the realization of promises expressed in hollow legislative enactments or empty electoral campaign oratory. Conferences from the lowest levels of officialdom up to the Chief Executive in the White House result in the clarification of problems—but not their solution. Studies by many commissions, unhappily devoid of power, continue to pose problems without any concrete results that could be translated into jobs, education, equality of opportunity, and access to the fruits of an historic period of prosperity. In "the affluent society," the Negro has remained the poor, the underprivileged, and the lowest class. Court actions are often surrounded by a special type of red tape that has made for long drawn-out processes of litigation and evasive schemes. The Negro has also become aware that token integration was not a start in good faith but a new form of discrimination covered up with certain niceties.

It was inevitable, therefore, that a more direct approach would be sought —one which would contain the promise of some immediate degree of success based upon the concrete act of the Negro. Hence, a period began in which the emphasis shifted from the slow court process to direct action in the form of bus protests, economic boycotts, mass marches to and demonstrations in the nation's capital and state capitals.

One may wonder why the present movement started with the lunch counters. The answer lies in the fact that here the Negro has suffered indignities and injustices that cannot be justified or explained. Almost every Negro has experienced the tragic inconveniences of lunch counter segregation. He cannot understand why he is welcomed with open arms at most counters in the store, but is denied service at a certain counter because it happens to be selling food and drink. In a real sense the "sit-ins" represent more than a demand for service; they represent a demand for respect.

It is absurd to think of this movement as being initiated by Communists or some other outside group. This movement is an expression of the longing of a new Negro for freedom and human dignity. These students were anchored to lunch counter seats by the accumulated indignities of days gone by and the boundless aspirations of generations yet unborn.

In this new method of protest a new philosophy provided a special undergirding—the philosophy of nonviolence. It was first modestly and quietly projected in one community, Montgomery, when the threat of violence became real in the bus protest. But it burst from this limited arena, and was embraced by masses of people across the nation with fervor and consistency.

The appeal of non-violence has many facets:

First—It proclaims the sincere and earnest wish of the Negro that though changes must be accomplished, there is no desire to use or tolerate force. Thus, it is consistent with the deeply religious traditions of Negroes.

Second—It denies that vengeance for past oppression motivates the new spirit of determined struggle.

Third—It brings to the point of action a great multitude who need the assurance that a technique exists which is suitable and practical for a minority confronting a majority often vicious and possessed of effective weapons of combat.

Fourth—Many Negroes recognize the necessity of creating discord to alter established community patterns, but they strongly desire that controls be built in, so that neither they nor their adversaries would find themselves engaged in mutual destruction.

Fifth—Having faith that the white majority is not an undifferentiated whole, Negro leaders have welcomed a moral appeal which can reach the emotions and intellect of significant white groups.

The appeal of the philosophy of non-violence encompasses these many requirements. The key significance of the student movement lies in the fact that from its inception, everywhere, it has combined direct action and non-violence.

This quality has given it the extraordinary power and discipline which every thinking person observes. It has discredited the adversary, who knows how to deal with force but is bewildered and panicky in the face of the new techniques. Time will reveal that the students are learning lessons not contained in their textbooks. Hundreds have already been expelled, fined, imprisoned, and brutalized, and the numbers continue to grow. But with the punishments, something more is growing. A generation of young people has come out of decades of shadows to face naked state power; it has lost its fears, and experienced the majestic dignity of a direct struggle for its own liberation. These young people have connected up with their own history—the slave revolts, the incomplete revolution of the Civil War, the brotherhood of colonial colored men in Africa and Asia. They are an integral part of the history which is reshaping the world, replacing a dying order with modern democracy. They are doing this in a nation whose own birth spread new principles and shattered a medieval

social society then dominating most of the globe.

It is extremely significant that in many places the Negro students have found white allies to join in their actions. It is equally significant that on a mass scale students and adults in the North and elsewhere have organized supporting actions, many of which are still only in their early stages.

The segregationists now face some hard alternatives: They can continue to seek to maintain segregated facilities. In this event they must live with discord or themselves initiate, and be responsible for, violence with all its evil consequences. They may close the facilities as they have done in many places. But this will not end the movement; rather, it will spread to libraries, public parks, schools, and the like, and these too will have to be closed, thus depriving both white and Negro of necessary cultural and recreational institutions. This would be a step backward for the whole of society. Or finally, they can accept the principle of equality. In this case they still have two alternative approaches. They may make the facilities equally bad for both white and Negro or equally good. Thus finally simple logic and justice in their own interests should direct them to the only acceptable solution—to accept equality and maintain it on the best level for both races.

The outcome of the present struggle will be some time in unfolding, but the line of its direction is clear. It is a final refutation of the time-honored theory that the Negro prefers segregation. It would be futile to deplore, as many do, the tensions accompanying the social changes. Tension and conflict are not alien nor abnormal to growth but are the natural results of the process of changes. A revolution is occurring in both the social order and the human mind. One hundred eighty-four years ago a bold group of men signed the Declaration of Independence. If their struggle had been lost they had signed their own death warrant. Nevertheless, though explicitly regretting that King George had forced them to this extreme by a long "train of abuses," they resolutely acted and a great new society was born. The Negro students, their parents, and their allies are acting today in that imperishable tradition.

the failure of the eisenhower presidency

by SIDNEY HYMAN

THE EISENHOWER Presidency is drawing to a close and the War of the Presidential Succession is on in earnest. The moment, therefore, raises a leading question. Should we extend the order of values and the style of the Eisenhower Presidency into the 1960's, or does the impending future demand a different kind of Presidency?

What is being posed for judgment here is not Mr. Eisenhower's moral nature. Agreed: as a human being, he is a good man. What is being posed is his conduct of the Presidential office in response to political challenges that act on any modern Presidency.

Consider some of them:

¶ There was a time when foreign and domestic affairs seemed to be distinctly separate matters. A failure or a success in one area need not have had any visible effect on the course events took in another. But this is no longer true. The line between foreign and domestic affairs is now as indistinct as a line drawn through water. The two have been merged into a single indivisible whole in which domestic and foreign events take their shape from each other. The two are merged particularly in the office of the Presidency because it is the only office the American people have that is both national and international in its reach.

¶ There was a time when a clear line could be drawn between a state of war and a condition of peace. A people could mobilize and wage war with a terminal point in mind. Once that point was reached, and the political objectives which lie beyond the shooting war were attained, a condition of peace would ensue. But this is no longer true. For almost four Presidential terms we have been living in a no-man's land, without war and yet without peace. We are mobilized for instant nuclear warfare yet dare not resort to it as a means for attaining the political settlement—or the peace— which lies beyond war. Yet it falls to the President to create the conditions for a tolerable life when the old notions of war and the old notions of diplomacy have lost their boundary lines.

¶ There was a time when the Russians were a peasant people, living in rural isolation with a barnyard economy. Now there is the accelerating change of the Soviet Union into a disciplined industrial complex whose power tends to cast a golden glow over the means used to bring that power into being. Now, in the name of its own success, reinforced by a perverse mystical faith in the inevitability of success, the Soviets are strongly placed to impose their will on all who would deny them whatever object they set for themselves. For the same cause, the President of the United States must somehow guarantee for our economy the measure of sustained growth it needs if we are to have the material means with which to meet the mounting threat of the Soviet economic offensive.

¶ There was a time when large masses of humanity lived in a state of static listlessness under colonial rule. Now they are in a ferment to be the authors of their own history. In practice, in their new role, they may give satirical meanings to the

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great political watchwords they learned from the West—words like liberty, equality, fraternity, democracy, social justice, nationalism, and self-determination. Yet their aim is clear enough. Long held to the role of raw material producers, they would now attain for themselves the good they see in the industrial revolution previously denied them. It falls to the President to make major decisions on where and how much of our own surplus capital can best be spent abroad in ways congruous with our national interest and the interest of the peoples who want to industrialize.

¶ There was a time when we were a nation whose security policies were based on hemispheric isolation. Now we are a nation that must pursue those policies on distant shores, in distant skies, from distant bases on foreign soil, on all fronts of human endeavor. In what we do, our allies must see that *their* interest as well as our own is better served by common policies than without them. The effort we require of *them* must be within *their* capabilities. The details of our policies must appeal to *them* as the best chance of success in solving problems of common interest. The policies we advance in the cause of peace must not, in themselves, be more terrifying than the fear of hostile threats.

This new necessity of serving national interest by supra-national means creates two constituencies for a President. One is the voting constituency formed by his fellow Americans from whom he draws his title of office. The other is the non-voting constituency of our allies who do not have a say in choosing him in a polling booth, but who are immediately and vitally affected by anything he does. It therefore falls to the President to explain the two constituencies to each other. He must constantly shift his gravitational center from one to the other so that in a continuous process of accommodation the purposes of the alliance as a whole can better be advanced.

There has been at least one more vital change. There was a time when household knowledge and conventional wisdom were sufficient sources of valid judgments on public questions. Indeed, the framework of the American Constitution was based largely on a theory of knowledge. In some areas, the Congress was to act as the amateur and the President as the expert. In others, the Congress was to act as the expert and the President as the amateur. Yet each would know enough to pass a sound judgment on what the other was doing, while the amateur electorate as a whole would know enough to pass a sound judgment on what the Congress and the Presidency were jointly doing. In practice, this theory worked well enough in the Nineteenth Century, the Golden Age of the Amateur.

The present age is different. It is the age of the Expert. It is the age where a rapidly accumulating fund of specialized knowledge has shaken, if it has not altogether shattered, the structure of an over-arching general knowledge. In this age, an exploding science has had the effect of fusing vital political questions with infinitely complex scientific and technological questions. On the matter, for example, of whether or not to stop all further tests of the hydrogen bomb, only a handful of people know even the vocabulary that is relevant to the discussion, let alone how to frame a precise judgment. The problem is all the more complicated for the President. The law which makes him Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces has now made him our Chief Scientist. Yet when there is a sharp difference of opinion among his experts—as there often is—how is he to know which expert is the one worth listening to?

Now, as never before, the conduct of our affairs demands unity of direction, a concentration of energy, staying power, a faculty for group diplomacy, a global vision, precise information, and an increased measure of discretionary authority so that sudden advantages can be speedily seized, and sudden dangers can be swiftly met.

If these are indeed the demands of the times, then a second conclusion follows. It is that Congress, as an alternative to the President, cannot under modern conditions be the vital center of action in our government in dealing with the highest matters of state. To be sure, by a direct grant of the Constitution, the Congress alone enacts legislation. It alone has the power to tax, to raise and support armies, to declare war, to regulate interstate and foreign commerce. In the case of the Senate, it is a joint partner with the President in the treaty-making power. These are great legal powers and they have a commensurate practical meaning as well. Still, the structural character of Congress, by its very nature, weakens its role in formulating and initiating solutions to the great political issues of the day.

Congress has been, it now is, and it can be, an effective mediator between clashing local and sectional interests. But where issues like war and peace demand decision—and this one issue draws a host of others into its vortex—the built-in split personality of the Congress stands in the way of its own motions: each of its two chambers is organized on a different principle of representation. An even greater impediment is that either of the two chambers only rarely sits as a committee of the whole to consider any matter. It ordinarily works through a complex maze of more than three hundred committees whose chairmen, under the seniority rules, have inordinate personal power to bend the work that is done—and hence the work of Congress—to their own local needs.

These factors work against unity of direction, against a concentration of energy, against staying power, against a global view, against speed, against flexibility. Nor should it be forgotten that Congress has its periods of adjournment when it does nothing at all. For example, three months elapsed between the firing of the first Sputnik and the convening of Congress. And even when Congress is in session, it cannot exercise a round-the-clock, day-to-day direction over the great questions of national policy which must now be pursued in the context of a multi-nation coalition diplomacy. For Congress has no ambassadors of its own. It is not in touch with scores of foreign nations simultaneously. It has no way of knowing from our allies, directly, what they consider to be correct or incorrect policies. It has no intelligence service of its own. It has no way of keeping abreast of fast-breaking events at distant points around the globe, and to relate them for their significance.

All that Congress cannot do, for structural reasons, the President can

do. He is aided, of course, by special grants of power which come directly from the Constitution. But the paramount reasons he can act where Congress cannot arises from these considerations: First, as our only national officer, he is expected to represent and to speak for the nation as a united whole, without regard to local and sectional accents. Second, he is one man, not a committee; he concentrates in himself the power of quick action. Third, unlike Congress, he is always in session—or at least should be—twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. Fourth, though the constitutional lawyers dispute the point, the national instinct for survival tends to make the President's inaugural oath to uphold, protect, and defend the Constitution a residual source of power he can draw on to preserve the nation when all the other organs of government are stalled in a crisis.

But there is an even more compelling consideration. Under modern conditions, with every major political question somehow involving the entire nation, it is to be expected that the institution in which our national experience comes to a head should be the institution to which we all look for ways and means to bring our leading questions under control. That institution, for the reasons indicated, is not and cannot now be Congress. It is, and it must be, the Presidency, because the President is at one and the same time these many officials:

He is the head of state, the head of government, the head of party, the military commander-in-chief, the chief of diplomacy, the head of administration, the source of appointments and removals, the chief proponent of legislation, the manager-in-chief of the economy, the ultimate source of discipline and clemency, the party leader, the guide and interpretor of public opinion, the keeper of the national conscience, the chief prophet of warning and encouragement, the chief banker, social service worker, insurance agent, scientist, and, above all, the commander-in-chief of the Grand Alliance. Because any leading question of modern American government requires the simultaneous performance of most of these functions, the effect has been to render obsolete the old notion that the President's job is merely to administer the objects and situations defined for him by Congress.

There has been a profound and unavoidable shift within the Constitution—a shift that brings us abreast of the British parliamentary principle whereby the Executive must lead from above while Congress revises and vetoes from below. However honorable its motives, any modern Presidency which fails to accept the reality of this shift, and to act on the basis of it, contributes to a general disarray and to a sense of frustration throughout the whole order of government.

At this point, we can come directly to the Eisenhower Presidency. Its dominating tendencies have been to act as if domestic and foreign affairs were separate matters; as if religion was a substitute for politics in a condition of no war and no peace; as if a balanced budget was the paramount means of meeting the Soviet economic offensive; as if we could win the newly emergent nations to the practices of democracy by ringing democratic manifestoes—while withholding from them a full measure of the material assistance they need as a flooring for democratic growth. The Eisenhower Administration has acted as if decisions of our choosing correspond to the best interest of our allies; as if the sensibilities of our non-voting constituents could be ignored whenever their wishes collided with the voting constituency of America; as if information which belonged in the public domain as an indispensible prerequisite for democratic debate, should be withheld from the nation on the theory that President "knows best."

Yet the heart of the trouble with the Eisenhower Presidency is something else again. It has been its failure to accept the reality of the shift in executive-legislative relations that has occurred within the Constitution. It has not firmly grasped the responsibility of Presidential leadership from above, yet it has refused to allow Congress to improvise a substitute leadership from below to fill the vacuum. It has not marched at the head of affairs to force events into being of a kind favorable to America and the Grand Alliance. It has bent the weight of its energies to the end of stopping things which have been put into motion elsewhere. What it has done throughout is to seek the best of both worlds: to claim all the credit for the sunshine and to blame everyone else for the rain; to allow no voice but its own to be heard, yet to make Congress assume a large measure of the responsibility for all miscarriages of Administration policy.

The full proof of these charges would require a day-to-day listing of the actions of the Eisenhower Administration since it came to power in 1953. But a few representative instances, chosen without reference to any time sequence, will make an adequate case.

Item. In the last session of the Congress, the President exercised his veto power 150 times, yet lent his approval to the Republican policy of calling the Democratic-controlled 86th Congress a "do-nothing Congress." How could it do anything when the veto power is equal to two-thirds the combined strength of the entire Congress, and a majority of that size is rarely on the same side of legislation? How could Congress attend, for example, to the needs of education, housing, and urban redevelopment when measures of this kind were beaten down by Executive veto—all in the name of a balanced budget?

Item. The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee on Armed Services sat day after day, week after week, heard hundreds of witnesses, took testimony from dozens of men, and unanimously made seventeen recommendations urging this nation to accelerate its defense program. Few of the recommendations have been carried out by the President. Moreover, at least one billion dollars of defense money the Congress has appropriated has been impounded, sunk, or hidden by the President while Congress is virtually powerless to make him do what it wants done.

Item. The President repeatedly talked of how important it was to provide long term economic assistance to the underdeveloped countries. In the last session, the Foreign Relations Committee, which was of the same mind, labored long and hard and issued a nearly unanimous report which would have enabled the Development Loan Fund to plan its operations on a long-term basis. Yet when there was a crucial vote on the floor of the Senate, the White House,

swayed by the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget (over the opposition of the State Department), sent word to party lieutenants to cut down the Development Loan proposal. And it was cut down.

Item. When Charles E. Wilson was Secretary of Defense, Congress appropriated about $175 million for basic research. When asked why he had not spent the money, Wilson was quoted as saying that in his mind basic research was what you were doing when you did not know what to do. There was no word of correction from the White House. When asked about the lagging space program, Wilson said he had enough troubles on earth. There was no word of correction from the White House.

Item. After the Suez war, to whose onset the Administration contributed through its own blunders, the Eisenhower Doctrine was proclaimed as the nostrum which would set everything right in the Middle East. Congress was not consulted in the period while that Doctrine was being formulated within the Executive. The terms were first leaked to the press, and once they were in public print, the Administration invoked the holy name of bi-partisanship to insure its adoption by Congress, just as it had previously done in the case of the Formosa Resolution.

In both cases, Congress was informed that it had to support the position of the Administration because otherwise the Russians and the rest of the world would think we were sorely divided. That support was forthcoming not because the leaders of Congress were convinced of the wisdom of the Administration's course. They were not at all convinced of the wisdom of the Administration's policy. They were convinced that the course was either dangerous or meaningless. Yet in Lebanon, just as in Quemoy and Matsu, Congress suddenly discovered that the Eisenhower Doctrine was *its* doctrine, and the Formosa Resolution was *its* resolution.

Item. The Administration repeatedly emphasized the imperative necessity of maintaining "fiscal solvency." To be sure, at one point, it developed a deficit of $12.5 billion. At that same point, the Democratic members of Congress observed that something like $4 billion in dividend income in this country goes unreported; if there was a dividend withholding tax, as in the case of many other sources of income, the government would collect at least a billion dollars of the dividend-based revenues that were due it. This Democratic proposal was killed by the Administration, as was the case with another proposal that there be a tightening up of the tax-free expense allowances. Yet, for all its own negligence in enforcing existing tax laws, the Administration at every turn blasted the Democrats for being "reckless spenders."

Herblock in the Washington Post

"Don't Worry, We're Keeping a Firm Hand On the Till"

Item. The President has spoken eloquently about the virtues of democracy. He would most certainly agree that free and open discussion is a leading factor in the actual workings of democracy. Yet his general tendency has been to shut off all debate by asserting that he knows more than "almost anyone" about military matters. Those who disagree with his judgments are, to him, "noisy extremists." They are, he says, unpatriotic because they have "the tendency to disparage our country" with their "spurious" assertions. The earnest men who are worried about our country's security are told by him that they are "political morticians exhibiting a breast-beating pessimism."

There is a case to be made for Mr. Eisenhower, albeit a small one. After twenty years of innovation under the Presidencies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman in meeting the social, political, and military revolutions of the day, perhaps the time was ripe for a Presidency that would devote itself to consolidating the gains made. Perhaps we all needed a breather in which to look around and to reappraise where we stood as individuals in relationship to our own government, and where our government stood in relation to other nations. In such an interval of pause, existing programs could have been refined, the fast setting mold of habit could have been breached to allow for an entry of fresh air, the whole administrative machinery of government could have been renovated. Moreover, at any time, there is a place for a veto, for a disengagement from dangerous points of exposure, and for a political dialectic in which the negative arm is stronger than the affirmative arm.

If President Eisenhower had in fact been a consolidator in some such manner; if he had in fact used his negative arm to stop dangerous tendencies or to withdraw from them, his Presidency would have had a material relevance to the hour at which we stand in our history. Yet his has been the period of a falling apart, of a loss of elan and dash, of a veto for the sake of saying no, of a widening breach between power and responsibility. The legacy he leaves to his successor in the White House, whoever he may be, is unenviable. Demands long postponed or ignored will burst upon the President in the 1960's. If President Eisenhower's successor rises to meet them, as he must if we are to continue to be a major power, it seems fairly certain that he will be damned for somehow violating the Constitution because he might insist on acting not like Mr. Eisenhower but like a President. It seems fairly certain that he will be damned for being a divisive influence, a source of acrimonious dispute, and worse. Yet one must hope that the next President will have the courage and the magnanimity to make his office respond to the needs of the time; to reunite power and responsibility in it; and to revive our sagging constitutional morality by restoring discussion itself to the governmental process.

The Liberal Retreat and the Need for Political Realignment

by JAMES A. WECHSLER

This article is condensed and adapted from a chapter of Mr. Wechsler's book, Reflections of An Angry Middle-Aged Editor, *which is being published by Random House. Mr. Wechsler, editor of the New York* Post, *was a founder of Americans for Democratic Action.*—THE EDITORS.

"WITH THE Democratic victory in the 1948 elections, American liberalism returned to power. It had been in eclipse (even though nominally in office) for nearly a decade—its decline began with the outbreak of war in 1939 and reached its low point with the Republican sweep of 1946. Now, suddenly, exile was over, the conservatives were routed, and a new crew of liberal militants catapulted into office."

So wrote Irwin Ross in *Strategy for Liberals* early in 1949, in the jubilant aftermath of Harry Truman's remarkable triumph over Thomas E. Dewey and Dr. George Gallup, and the Democratic Congressional landslide that accompanied his victory.

"In a major sense, the election altered the relationship of political forces in America," Ross continued. "Organized liberalism emerged with a strength, a mandate, and an opportunity unmatched since 1933. The nation had unmistakably swung to the left. But is the left equal to the tasks imposed on it? Has it a program commensurate with its responsibilities? Has it the will and the power to realize the promises implicit in its rhetoric—can it end the threat of depression, eliminate poverty, build a society as democratic in its economic relations as in its political forms? Can the Fair Deal succeed where the New Deal failed?"

The hopes were high, the challenge seemed clear. Now we are all more than a decade older, perhaps a trifle wiser, and, looking back over the ten years that have elapsed, we may well ponder how the opportunities were squandered, the "mandate" so largely ignored.

In part, of course, the optimism was unjustified by reality. The voting returns were plain enough; the scope of the liberal gain was massive. But Mr. Truman was something less than a resolute, adventurous liberal crusader; it was hard to detect in him any deep impulses of Wilsonian idealism or the tough-minded pragmatism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. He could gruffly pay his rhetorical respects to progressive legislation, but he was neither creative nor original in this realm; he was, one might say, a radical George Babbitt. In the early years of his Administration he betrayed an insistent distrust of any men who came bearing unconventional ideas; he was as liable as any backward Republican to view such characters as "longhairs," and the exodus of New Dealers from government began soon after he took office. Not until late—too late—in his Administration did he begin to suspect that there was no fatal contradiction between brain power and political power.

This was most painfully true of his conduct of domestic affairs. Harry Truman was the product of a rough political machine; he knew it, and reveled in the knowledge. Many of the ultimate misfortunes of his Administration are traceable to his tendency to let the standards of the political clubhouse prevail in the higher echelons of government. Such a man was hardly likely to inspire a younger generation or to impart new dimensions of nobility and purpose to the cause of liberalism.

But Mr. Truman was also the victim of circumstances beyond his control. The Communist aggression that began in Korea in June, 1950, destroyed any chance for domestic innovation; it also placed his Administration in an even more defensive posture with respect to the Communist issue at home. One might say that Mr. Truman spent his last two years in office leading the democratic resistance to a Communist assault abroad while seeking to prove to his countrymen that he was neither a captive nor an agent of Communism at home. Much of the American press never fully perceived or acknowledged the irony.

His response to the Korean crisis was instinctive, courageous, and unwavering, just as had been his conduct when the Russian threat to Greece and Turkey became acute in 1947. In these great moments, and in his espousal of such efforts as the Point Four program for American aid to underprivileged nations, Mr. Truman rose far above the humdrum political community which spawned him, and achieved an authentic place in history. But a recognition of these achievements scarcely justifies the fashioning of any legend of Mr. Truman as liberal leader. In subsequent years it has been commonplace to identify

the attack on our domestic freedoms with the name of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Let it not be forgotten, however, that the federal loyalty program and all the cruel excesses associated with it began in the time of Mr. Truman; that the notorious Smith Act prosecutions—in which we found ourselves prosecuting men not for what they did but for what they dreamed of doing—were undertaken by Attorney General Tom Clark in the same epoch under a statute approved by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Whatever his virtues and vices, Mr. Truman was a robust, spirited figure who labored long and hard in a world he never made. But he was incapable of giving continuity or new direction to the movement of liberalism.

By the end of 1952 the visions of resurgence had crumbled. Adlai Stevenson campaigned valiantly and unconventionally, creating a sense that there was a new voice abroad in the land. To many young men and women his campaign that year must seem like their last encounter with the wine of political idealism. Time and again Stevenson said what he believed in places where it seemed least expedient for him to do so; the style of his campaign was set in his plea for dissent before the American Legion.

No doubt Stevenson's defeat helped shape the cynicism and withdrawal that marked the years immediately afterward. No one can state with any confidence that any candidate could have defeated Dwight D. Eisenhower that year. The yearning for change was nationwide; the build-up of General Eisenhower as savior represented the best promotion campaign that money could buy; Stevenson told a country weary of hot war in Korea and cold war in the world that there were no quick and easy solutions—and many Americans preferred to believe there were. Eisenhower countered Stevenson's profound sense of doubt with the cliches of certainty. The scandals that beset the Truman Administration plagued Stevenson throughout the long autumn. They were deftly exploited by such apostles of rectitude as Sherman Adams and they confronted Stevenson with the insoluble dilemma of defending or disowning the stains of a Democratic era.

With Stevenson's defeat came demoralization in many liberal areas. Was it possible, men began to ask anew, that he was "too good" for our kind of politics? Was it possible that no man could successfully "talk sense" to the American people; did his failure mean that humility to the point of self-deprecation was a fatal disqualification for public office? Would any man be able to overcome the massive, concentrated power of television and press once the White House was occupied by a Republican—any Republican? Had the McCarthy distortion of liberalism captivated so large a section of the electorate that no man suspected of liberal associations could function effectively in the political arena? Was labor leadership so alienated from its members that it could no longer be taken seriously as a political force?

Such were some of the morose meditations that gripped the liberal community as the magnitude of Stevenson's loss became apparent. The mood of defeatism was lightened for some, of course, by the great expectations promoted by the Eisenhower publicists. He had, after all, won the nomination after a bitter struggle with the conservative troops rallied under

the Taft banner. He was generally depicted as a man of good will and generous impulse; the image of him as a pillar of decency had been sufficiently strong to persuade some liberals four years earlier that he would make an exemplary candidate on the Democratic ticket.

But the weakness and irresolution he soon manifested in combat—or non-combat—with McCarthy dimmed these extravagant hopes. The strongest case that had been made for him by such able supporters as August Heckscher, Jr., then chief editorial writer of the New York *Herald Tribune* and articulate spokesman of "modern Republicanism" in the pages of that journal, was that Eisenhower's election would somehow cool the passions and smother the prejudices stirred by the McCarthy crusade. But for nearly two years the White House time and again retreated under fire.

Men continued to say that "Ike is a good guy," but the evidence mounted that he was unlikely to produce anything new in any sphere. Democrats generally capitulated to what they accepted to be the tone of the times. They shunned new ideas, shared in the general levity about "eggheads," and increasingly tried to prove that they were as respectable and uncreative as their adversaries.

Stagnation and stalemate seemed to be the essential characteristics of political life. There was a flurry of excitement when the President appeared likely to bow out of the 1956 race after a succession of physical reversals; but the political medicinemen and the specialists agreed that a second term would be entirely consistent with his rehabilitation, especially if conducted in large measure on the playing fields of Augusta. Most of the press obediently accepted the dictum that there was no office more hospitable to convalescence than the Presidency, particularly when the patient happened to be a Republican.

And Mr. Stevenson himself, cursed by history with the misfortune of running twice against the nation's great-white-father symbol, never quite recaptured in 1956 the style and spirit of his first campaign. Many of his advisers were plainly convinced that a repetition of his lofty tactics would be disastrous; he was counseled to concentrate on such "bread-and-butter" issues as the high cost of living, but unhappily the Democrats were no more prepared than the Republicans to advocate the kind of economic controls that might have given meaning to the debate.

I have been told that Stevenson's own disposition was to stress the failures and follies of Administration foreign policy; but his bold call for the suspension of nuclear tests was viewed with dismay by most of "the pros." Given the level of press behavior and the comatose state of much of the nation, it is questionable whether anything Stevenson could have done would have substantially

reduced the margin of defeat. It is also questionable whether any man could repeat what was indisputably Stevenson's moral victory of 1952; four years later the originality of phrase and manner that distinguished his initial effort had acquired a familiar sound; it was as if his fresh words had already become cliches.

Then, suddenly, the Eisenhower honeymoon ended. It was not that his second term was much more conspicuously lacking in vigor or enterprise than his first. His surrenders to McCarthy and his equivocation in the battle for civil rights had all occurred before his re-election. But there were differences now. To the orthodox Republican commentators and politicos who had so long protected a prize property, President Eisenhower now ceased to be indispensable; there could be no third term. A press that had been so often muted in deference to the sanctity of the symbol began to murmur querulously. Yet there may well have been deeper meaning in the steady collapse of the Eisenhower mythology. I can hardly document the point, but it is my profound suspicion that, by the time of the 1958 Congressional elections, Dwight D. Eisenhower had become something of a fabulous—if still beloved—bore.

I know it was said in many places that the gale which swept so many Republicans out of office was in no way aimed at the President; conceivably he would have done better than many of his fallen brethren if his name had appeared on the ballot. The fact remains that he pleaded plaintively and at length for a Republican sweep; he matched Vice President Nixon in his prophecies of the socialist doom that a Democratic success would bring; he fully and freely associated himself with the cause of each Republican stalwart, as well as with the most ancient economic doctrines of Hoover Republicanism. In the course of this exercise he finally laid to rest the illusion that there was any serious link between Mr. Eisenhower and what some of his more liberal adherents have described as "Eisenhower Republicanism." He gave his all to the Republican flag, and it was not enough. Many suggested that the result was in no way a repudiation of the Eisenhower Administration, which seemed like another way of saying that Mr. Eisenhower could not be held accountable for any of the policies and programs of the government he nominally headed.

The Democratic breakthrough was spectacular; the Republican rout was almost total. New York state was one of the few places where the trend was reversed, but there was little comfort for the Republican faithful in this news. Nelson Rockefeller had assiduously withheld any commitment to national or international Republican policies; he steadfastly insisted on discussing "state issues" alone and, when he finally and reluctantly accepted the insistent embrace of Mr. Nixon, he did so in the manner of a girl who decides to be seduced only because she knows that rape can create so ugly a scene.

To judge by nearly all the public evidence, liberalism and independence had carried the day. But there was genuine reason for liberals to moderate their cheers. Despite all the battles won, all the outposts captured, all the conservatives vanquished, the condition of anything that might be described as a movement of organized liberalism in the United States was inescapably poor. Many individual

politicians who called themselves liberal had won elections; but were there any sure signs that their triumphs constituted something more memorable than a big day in their own lives?

On the one hand, the leadership of the Democratic Congressional delegation continued to rest with Senator Lyndon Johnson and Congressman Sam Rayburn, the two Texans who have long prided themselves on their ability to repress what they deem the excessive militancy of such men as Senators Hubert Humphrey and Paul Douglas. There was no indication that either Johnson or Rayburn interpreted the results as any form of rebuke to their long records of passivity and their quiet partnership with Mr. Eisenhower. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi retained his seat, his seniority, and his chairmanship of a major Senate committee; so did others only a trifle less obnoxious and clamorous in their confidence that they belonged to a master race. Johnson himself was described by columnist William S. White, who has long served as carrier of the Johnson message to the masses, as still entirely convinced that "the quiet tone and the centrist policy are the facts of political life."

The liberal landscape did not appear much more promising when one scrutinized the state of Americans for Democratic Action. At the time of its formation in 1947 ADA was widely heralded as the beginning of a momentous liberal-labor coalition, designed not only to frustrate the Communist effort to infiltrate and manipulate American liberalism, but to provide the base for a major new political thrust by independent liberal and union forces. Because of the identity of many of its founding fathers, ADA was often called a "government-in-exile"; it was heavily populated with former New Dealers who had found life uncongenial in the aggressively anti-intellectual atmosphere of the early Truman regime. That ADA had recorded significant achievements in its decade of existence was beyond dispute. But that it had fallen far short of the expectations of its creators was equally clear.

Certainly it had swiftly and decisively attained (with the help of some monumental Communist blunders at home and abroad) one of its avowed objectives. It was a leading factor in the rout of the U.S. Communist movement in the 1948 campaign; it was instrumental in unfolding the truth about the last major domestic Communist enterprise—the Communist-run Progressive Party which bewitched Henry Wallace into running as its candidate for President. Probably ADA did more than any other single agency to expose the frauds and the fallacies, the double-think and double-standards through which the Communists tried to entrap American liberals in the late 1940's as they had in the mid-1930's.

This was a solid accomplishment, too often cynically forgotten by those who have tried to depict ADA as a creature of sly subversion. But it was predominantly a negative triumph designed to pave the way for the

emergence of an affirmative political vehicle. There have been fewer positive victories.

It was a caucus organized and run by ADA that was primarily responsible for the success of Hubert Humphrey's fight for a clear-cut civil rights plank at the 1948 Democratic Convention. ADA may similarly boast that it spoke out clearly and forthrightly against McCarthyism in a time when respectable political leaders were finding all manner of excuses for maintaining an undignified silence. On this and a number of other issues ADA has provided the stimulus of a sort of American Fabian society. It has also provided an initial home for a number of men who were seeking entry into political life but found themselves temporarily thwarted by the condition of the political machines in their areas. It has given them support, encouragement, a platform from which to speak, a refuge to which they could turn. Without ADA American politics would have been far duller and shallower than it has been during this time of accommodation.

I neither discount nor deride what ADA has done, especially in contrast with the disorganized futility and studied inertia that have pervaded much of both the intellectual and labor world. Yet now, somewhat more than a decade after its birth, ADA still looms infinitely larger in the dark imaginings of its critics than it does in real life. I do not like to deprive liberals of the sense of absolute power they may fleetingly achieve when they read William Buckley's or Westbrook Pegler's or David Lawrence's accounts of ADA's dominance of the politics and culture of the country; but there is a day of reckoning for all forms of self-deception. The unhappy truth is that, as of the moment of the liberal landslide of 1958, ADA still bore little resemblance to the massive liberal-labor alliance envisaged by its founders. It had signally failed to inspire the allegiance of any substantial number of young men and women; its undergraduate affiliate, Students for Democratic Action, seemed to be forever quarreling with what it regarded as the hand of restraint imposed by the

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Backwash

elders. ADA has become primarily a meeting ground for those with sentimental ties to the liberal and radical past, a sort of Alumni Association that recruits too few of its members from more recent liberal classes.

In the course of its lifetime it has enrolled at one time or another—but not simultaneously—upward of 50,000 Americans, and successfully solicited the sympathy of a good many more for particular projects. In the old house-ad line of the liberal weeklies, its influence has been far greater than the subscription rolls would indicate; it has put more ideas in currency than its revenue would seem to permit; it has stimulated serious public debates in a time hostile to candid controversy. It has also exercised an effective veto power on the ambitions of numerous political careerists whose records it has systematically exposed. If there were those who feared that ADA's endorsement might somehow be prejudicial to them, there were others who had learned that ADA could effectively draw distinctions that many independent voters recognized.

With all of that, ADA could not be described in that 1958 hour of national liberal triumph as the fulfillment of its founders' dream. Although it had many individual members in California and other western states, it had few flourishing chapters west of the Mississippi. It had been increasingly unable to secure the public blessing of well-known political figures, including many who felt a sense of identity with its program. It had received steadily less, rather than more, financial support from major labor unions; David Dubinsky, Walter Reuther, James Carey (and Hugo Ernst until his death) have been almost alone in the constancy of their devotion.

Granted the complexities created by ADA's own schizoid structure—neither political party nor formal caucus within either party—its difficulties cannot be that easily defined. More basically they are the product of three major tendencies in recent years: the McCarthy assault, the cult of "moderation" which developed in its aftermath, and the flight from politics that has been at least partially induced by those phenomena.

That ADA could have been effectively smeared as "pro-Communist" or "soft on Communism" is, among other things, a commentary on the sad incapacity and/or mendacity of a large section of the press in the long night of the McCarthy miseries. Here was an organization conceived in important measure as a counter-offensive against the Communist drive at a moment when the American Communist movement was displaying its last signs of real life. It put the Communists out of business in many places. But since it was no less hostile to the intolerance of the McCarthy dogma than it was to the Communist brand of totalitarianism, it swiftly evoked the combined fury of the Messrs. McCarthy, Nixon, and all their lesser imitations. It was a major whipping-boy of the 1952 campaign because some of Mr. Stevenson's close associates—among them Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and Wilson Wyatt—had undeniable ADA links. And it was never quite the same after the 1952 debacle. Though it is hard to see how the result could have been different, the "pros" eagerly selected ADA as their scapegoat and the amateurs were never quite capable of answering back.

It seems to me far from demonstrated that ADA is in truth the "kiss of death" to any aspiring politician, as the backroom strategists like to contend. One would need far more detailed study of individual contests

to determine whether an ADA endorsement hurts a candidate more than it helps him, as so many Democrats have now concluded. That many of them believe this is beyond dispute; but what they really believe, I think, is not that the initials ADA are anathema to the voters, but that the spirit of forthright liberalism which its initials evoke is somehow irreconcilable with the needs of ambitious Democratic candidates.

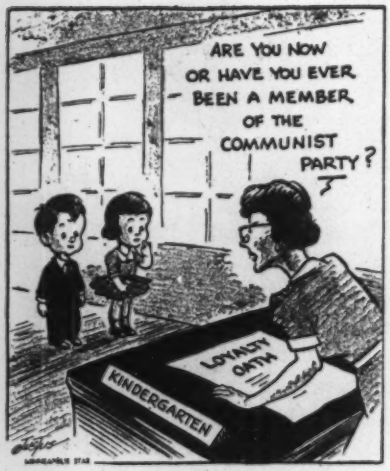
To the conventional political animal, ADA somehow signifies "trouble." It does not understand what Mr. Nixon would call the "rules of the game." It is "impractical," and darn near starry-eyed. And too often, perhaps, many of us in ADA have suffered from increasing inhibitions in public statement and speech precisely because this attack has been so widespread and unrelenting. Fearful of losing all contact with those whom it helped into public office, the organization has sometimes remained silent when it should have spoken out, failed to exploit issues that eventually became great popular campaigns, muffled positions that were deemed "embarrassing" by particular candidates.

But I do not intend to add my voice to those who seek to blame the frustrations of liberal man on the ineptitudes or inadequacies of ADA. Rather I think the moment is approaching for a full-scale reappraisal of whether the present political divisions in the country make any sense, and whether there can be any great liberal revival so long as liberalism remains essentially wedded to that divided house called the Democratic Party.

In *A Democrat Looks at His Party,* Dean Acheson offered a quiet case for the continued duality of the Democratic organization:

> "The most conservative leaders in the party come from the South. This sometimes causes impatience among Northern liberals. But Southern conservatism is an invaluable asset. It gives assurance that all interests and policies are weighed and considered within the party before interparty issues are framed."

This is an elegant but unconvincing rationale for the continuance of an



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

Will It Come to This?

alliance that has lost nearly all validity. In an age when the quest for human equality has become our central domestic concern, this union of incompatibles becomes increasingly grotesque. The Democratic condition is rendered worse by the theory advanced in some places that the party must woo back those legions of conservative Catholic voters who began to defect as far back as 1940, and whose symbol of rectitude remains Joseph R. McCarthy.

Liberals are often accused of displaying a fatal nostalgia for the simplicities of the struggles of the 1930's. Yet the desire to recreate the past is actually stronger among those Democratic traditionalists who yearn for a revival of the "Roosevelt coalition" and fail to understand that the new issues of a new day make such a revival implausible.

And before I am quoted out of context, let me hasten to add that I am not proposing a mass expulsion of Southern Democrats and Northern Catholics from Democratic ranks. There are many Southern Democrats groping earnestly for an honorable resolution of the desegregation conflict; some of them are taking far greater personal risks in the battle for decency than any Northern liberal. Similarly, there is no evidence that the Catholic vote is a monolithic mass of conservatism; there were eminent Catholics resisting McCarthyism long before many men of other faiths had found their voices; on economic issues the Catholic vote in Congress is generally more liberal than that of the President.

But we will have nothing truly recognizable as a liberal movement as long as disingenuousness remains the fashion of our politicos, and independent liberals remain aloof from ADA because "it has been smeared." Neither will we make honest men of our political spokesmen as long as they must live two lives. I have no vested interest in ADA's continuance, and neither do most of the men who give their time and energy to the service of the organization. But I suspect that if it did not exist it would have to be invented, even for the small number who give it active support and the larger number who derive some sense of relationship with political society from the fact of its existence.

We live in a time when most of our best political men—whether they call themselves Republicans, as John Sherman Cooper does, or Democrats, as Hubert Humphrey does—are torn and troubled because the circumstances of our politics prevent them from being "to thine own self true." Such men will never be able to live with themselves in full harmony as long as the unrealistic division endures. I am aware of the argument that a clear-cut political realignment

would create the peril of French fragmentation. But I am not awed by the danger. It seems to me we are paying far too high a price for the alleged stability we have achieved under a system in which hypocrisy and deceit are the required rituals of political behavior.

My own view is that ADA and liberals generally ought to take off all the gloves, even at the expense of divorcement from some political luminaries, and dedicate themselves to forcing a showdown within the Democratic Party. Conceivably only the threat of a third party effort could achieve that result and, as the disastrous Wallace experiment proved,

such a threat has no meaning unless it has the support of organized labor. But it seems to me the proposition is worthy of consideration by any labor leader who takes a serious view of politics.

What I have ultimately in view is not the emergence of two monolithic political organisms imposing rigid "party discipline" on their members. Such a concept is an absurdity in America. I do visualize a political upheaval in which men of broadly parallel ideas would find themselves in the same structure, capable of communicating with each other and feeling something more than Senatorial courtesy about each other's ideas. Within the broadly defined categories of "liberal" and "conservative," men would, I think, find their identities. It might even be said that each party would still represent a coalition, but each coalition would be united by certain recognizable common denominators of belief.

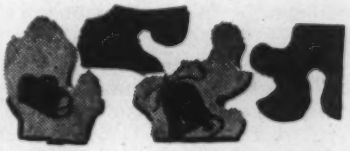
At the moment there is unquestionably a vastly higher percentage of liberal strength within the Democratic Party. Yet the grip of the Southern bloc daily dilutes that strength. In an age when the conflict over civil rights has become so central to our political future, I do not exclude the possibility, dim though it may seem at this time, of a complete reshuffling in which the Republican Party would become the vehicle of liberal political endeavor. Indeed, such a possibility would be far less remote if it were not for the total failure of the Republicans to make any serious effort to enfranchise the Southern Negro, and to make his enfranchisement a turning point in Southern politics.

Many factors may contribute to this paralysis, perhaps most important of all the unspoken but continuing arrangement between conservative Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats that dominates so much of the business of Congress and provides so many comforts and conveniences for those on both sides. But the architects of this non-aggression pact are not immortal, and younger men may eventually refuse to extend it.

When I write of labor's participation in a political realignment, it is with full awareness of the decline of labor's status in the electoral wars. Indeed, any mature labor leadership ought to re-examine critically the self-imposed alienation of many of the large unions from ADA—and imagine what ADA might have been if it had had full-fledged labor support.

For labor has found itself increasingly isolated from the independent electorate, and, on occasion, from its own rank-and-file. Too often in the past many chieftains of labor have looked derisively at the liberal movement, as if suggesting that the eggheads were pretty innocent fellows who had never met a union payroll and could not conceivably matter much on the battlefields of politics. But recent American experience—bulwarked by events in Britain—may hint at a reverse truth: that labor, especially in its latter-day condition of power and bureaucratization, has lost touch with those segments of public idealism which are vital to its effectiveness in the political arena.

Too many people have come to believe, with some documentation, that



"the big union" is now as contemptuous of any large public interest as the entrenched corporation, and that much of our inflationary problem represents a tacit conspiracy between these organized forces.

When an industry-union wage agreement results in a sudden, arbitrary increase in the price of milk, many thousands are caught in what they justly view as a squeeze; but no union voice is raised to ask whether the price rise is warranted or even to acknowledge that the price of milk has any relevance to the union's operations. It is such episodes, duplicated annually in so many areas, that incite the cry of "a plague on both your houses."

I happen to think the equation is often too capriciously drawn, and that corporate power, bulwarked by the massive propaganda institutions at its command, is too carelessly likened to the strength of the union machines. But neither can I lightly discount the wide areas in which "business unionism" finds itself in daily collusion and cohabitation with the industry in which it happens to be located, and utterly unmindful of the larger considerations which ought to unite it with both the disorganized of the North and the disfranchised of the South.

Once upon a time the labor movement was the catalyst of the strongest idealistic emotions in our society. It produced noble exhibits of selflessness and sacrifice; in the primitivism of industrial conflict, unions brought dignity to thousands of individual lives, and a sense of moral values to the economic jungle. Now there are too few moments when that tradition is reaffirmed. Although multitudes of workers—especially in the South—remain unorganized, too many of labor's giants now seem as dedicated to business as usual as the men they meet across the bargaining table, and as hostile to innovation. Out of the Auto Workers Union has come a Walter Reuther, just as Paul Hoffman emerged from the auto industry, each apparently capable of seeing beyond the narrow horizons of the contract negotiation. But such innovators are rare indeed on both sides.

It is not the corruption and double-dealing unveiled by the McClellan Committee that matters most; such phenomena are partially symptoms of the *nouveau riche* union bloc; they can be overcome. Far more consequential is the loss of spirit among those who have never been bought. Jimmy Hoffa is a shabby vulgarization of unionism; yet in a sense he has filled a vacuum created by the general decline of union morale. The politics of labor suffers from the same facelessness and aimlessness that pervade the old party organizations.

Should a reinvigorated liberal-labor alliance prevail within the Democratic Party, this might well mean the launching of a third party project by the disaffected Dixiecrats. To that possibility one can only respond that the last time a Democrat reached the White House it was in the face of two third-party movements, one sponsored by the Dixiecrats and the other by the Communists. There is some reason to doubt that the South will risk all its perquisites of Congressional seniority by another compar-

able rebellion. But we should not be intimidated by the prospect of a bolt for it is probably only such a cleavage that can pave the way for more authentic political alignments.

As long as the present soggy stalemate lasts, as long as many men feel that the muddle way is the road to the White House, as long as ADA is viewed as a band of pariahs by many figures in the Democratic community, one will find it difficult to tell the beat generation that it ought to stop pouting and start shouting. Perhaps it is entirely healthy and even defensible for many middle-aged men to devote all their days and nights to contemplation of their Presidential chances, even in this agonized interval. They have, after all, but one life to give for the Presidency. But that is hardly any reason for the rest of us to let their ordeal govern our lives.

I know this will be viewed as extremist talk in some places. Unfortunately, the center has become so thronged that one can hardly recognize the faces in the crowd. In 1949 Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., wrote with grand expectations of the emergence of a "vital center," alternately known as "the non-Communist left," in the United States. But the center has proved less than vital, and the left is too often indistinguishable from the center.

There will always be need for areas of compromise within our political system. No liberal party—and no conservative party—can hope to impose a doctrinaire will without some appreciation of both the variables and vagaries of our complex national and local life. But in recent years "compromise" has become almost an end in itself, and it is the liberal who is deemed extremist when he voices any strength of conviction; the result, in fact, is not "compromise" but stalemate, not the achievement of the possible but the enthronement of the status quo, not moderation but immobility, not the clear delineation of public issues but a spreading sense that there are no longer any important public questions on which men may reasonably be asked to give more than equivocal answers.

There is no shortage of great themes for political combat, but rather a loss of nerve among most of our political warriors. It is time for a new beginning.

CASTRO'S CUBA

by KARL E. MEYER

PERHAPS NOT since the days of the late Senator Joseph McCarthy has a wild-swinging politician so stirred the public prints as has Fidel Castro. He may be the State Department's nightmare, but he is the newsman's godsend. Scarcely a day goes by without a new sensation, a fresh impudence, a bizarre event—all somehow connected with Castro and all grievously discomfiting to an Eisenhower Administration seeking to live out its final months in some semblance of dignity.

The kind of anarchistic tumult on which Castro thrives is utterly foreign to the solemnities of state as conducted elsewhere. Only in Cuba, it is safe to say, would a Spanish ambassador—and a nobleman, at that—become so enraged by a speech that he would burst into the television studio, snatch the microphone from a head of government, and shout an angry rebuttal on the spot.

Little wonder, then, that there is such widespread perplexity about a revolution whose leaders are themselves confused in purpose and action. Small wonder, too, that many Americans are irritated by the intemperate attacks from Havana and that members of Congress are urging everything from a punitive cut in the Cuban sugar quota to direct military intervention.

Such suggestions are not wholly frivolous. There is no doubt a danger exists that a country only ninety miles from Florida may become a captive of the Communist bloc. It is equally unarguable that Fidel Castro has proved a bitter disappointment to many of those who hoped he would foster democratic methods as well as bring economic reform.

Yet the feeling is widespread among those who have followed Cuban events that it would be a disastrous mistake for the United States to intervene, by either military or economic means, against the vexatious leader of a turbulent revolution. The reasons have less to do with Fidel Castro than with the Cuban revolution which, by a trick of fate, he is leading.

Few Americans are aware of the realities of Cuban life. They remember the *Maine*, but little else about an island that owes its independence to the assistance of the United States a half century ago. But the Cuban people know all too well that the island's independence has been more apparent than real, and that until Castro's seizure of power, the republic was for the most part an economic vassal of the United States. "The Republic of Cuba," goes an old saying, "is as independent of the United States as Long Island."

A few figures tell the story. Between 1920 and 1940, more than two-thirds of Cuba's sugar production was in foreign hands, and sugar is the island's prime source of wealth. On the eve of Castro's takeover, as much as forty per cent of the sugar production was controlled by Americans. Al-

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most all the island's key industries—telephones, power, railroads, mines—were likewise controlled from abroad. Even the gambling casinos in the Batista period were dominated by the American underworld.

All this might have been bearable if the policies of the island's overseers had been generous and just. But too much of Cuba's wealth vanished abroad, or into the pockets of politicians, or wound up in endless projects to beautify Havana while the rest of the island festered in neglect.

Add to this the thuggery of the Batista regime—and of the Machado regime before that—and it is apparent why the old order wears such an ugly look. A visitor to Cuba must brace himself for tales of horror—of humans roasted alive, of eyes gouged out, of midnight shootings, of scarlet cells—and the most terrible part is to find that so many of the stories are demonstrably true. Lieutenant Colonel Esteban Ventura, the "Himmler" of Batista's police, now in comfortable exile, was an apt pupil in an ancient art.

And by a wry caprice, the economic foundation of the old order was sugar, the most toothsome article on the dinner tables of the world. From the swanky homes in Havana, to the impoverished shacks of the *guajiros* on the plantations, Cuban society has been governed by a single, consuming purpose: the production of about six million tons of sugar every year. Every aspect of Cuban life has been shaped in some degree by the dictates of sugar: the roads and trains routed to the convenience of the mills, the land tenure laws tailored to the needs of the sugar plantations, the politicians governed by the interests of the sugar barons.

In a real sense, the Cuban revolution has been a revolt against sugar as much as against Fulgencio Batista.

The slender cane from which sugar is produced can be grown cheaply and plentifully in vast stretches of the tropical and semi-tropical world. Sugar-producing beets can be cultivated on a slightly less economic basis in temperate climates. The problem is not to encourage sugar production, but to restrict it, lest all the producers be ruined by disastrously low prices.

Over the years, sugar growers have learned to control the fecundity of their crop by a combination of special subsidies, crop restrictions, and import quotas—devices which have made the sugar industry the model of a private cartel backed by the sanctions of government. One lone statistic provides a measure of the cartel's success: only ten per cent or less of the world's sugar production is sold on the free markets of the world.

In the United States, the sugar market is divided between the domestic cane and beet producers and Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, each with its carefully apportioned share. Cuba enjoys a preferred position for special reasons. First, the three million tons sold by Cuba in this country are vital to the Eastern seaboard of the United States. Second, there has been an historic friendship between the countries which was strengthened during World War II when Cuba increased its production to aid a sugar-starved United States.

Thus, Cuba has gained a guaranteed share of the American market, certain tariff preferences, and a premium price of about five cents a pound rather than the going world rate of about three cents. The reason the domestic price is higher is because of various subsidies awarded to American sugar growers as a means of limiting production. All this is carefully worked out in legislation so complex that on one memorable occasion Chairman Harold Cooley of the House Agriculture Committee told his colleagues that his sugar bill could not be simply explained and that they would have to take on faith his estimate of its merits.

The prime beneficiaries of the system are about 25,000 sugar beet growers, most of them in our Western states. These are the farmers already in the magic "producers' circle" who are allowed to grow a given quota of sugar beets because of a past history in cultivating the crop—and the sugar beet is a plant that can be grown on idle lands as part of crop rotation cycles. On the whole, the members of the "circle" are content with the present system, years in the making. Merely the suggestion of a change, reports the *Wall Street Journal*, "fills most American sugar men with horror." Their fear is that a cut in Cuba's quota would dislocate the system, spur temporary overproduction, start a tug-of-war with foreign producers such as Brazil (now without *any* share of the U.S. market), and—unavoidably—attract attention to a cozy arrangement which has more political than economic justification.

Doubtless, the sugar laws have been kind to the domestic beet producers. What about Cuba? Here, the system's virtues are more ambiguous. It is of course true that Cuba has enjoyed an enormous advantage in having an assured annual market for half its major crop at premium prices. But paradoxically, the very profitableness of the system has served as a barrier against economic change, and has contributed in a perverse way to keeping the island yoked to a single-crop economy.

Given an assured income at inviting profits, why should the island's sugar owners want a change? To be sure, a little social vision might have taught Cuba's rulers that change was desirable—but social vision was precisely what was most lacking among the masters of the old order.

Moreover, one price that Cuba paid for its quota was the maintenance of a protected market for U.S. goods, thus inhibiting the development of local industries. The tariff which Cuba levies against incoming goods is subject to bilateral negotiations under the Reciprocal Trade Act—but Cuba's sugar quota can be altered unilaterally by the United States. And in this country, members of Congress have learned to heed the nudges of the sugar beet lobby. This explains why the Cuban share of the American market is actually smaller today than in the 1920s, despite a forty per cent increase in total consumption. It also helps to explain the chronic adverse trade balances in Cuba, totaling about $1 billion in the past decade.

Sugar, in short, has been as relentless a despot as dictator Batista, an economic master that has benefited a few while most of the people have remained in comparative squalor. Some of Castro's chieftains have gone so far as to charge that the sugar quota is a deliberate device to "enslave" the Cuban people. This is an outrageous distortion. Nonetheless, in all fairness, Americans ought to make

an effort to understand why the present system—outwardly so favorable to Cuba—has had regressive effects on its economy.

Concentration on sugar lies at the core of Cuba's ailments. Except during the brief harvest seasons, total unemployment on the island runs as high as twenty per cent of the labor force. Despite its rich land resources, Cuba remains an importer of even such staple items as rice. And in an era when mass media conveys a new vision of affluence, the chasm has widened between the very rich and very poor.

Here, in sum, is the tinder of social revolution—rising expectations coupled with debasing poverty, colonial servility at a time of awakening nationalism, corrupt and despotic government in the age of the Four Freedoms. An explosion was building up, and it came on January 1, 1959, when Fidel Castro rode to power on the crest of a mass revolt against a shabby status quo.

"Be Brief. We are Fifty Years Behind." So reads a sign over the desk of a busy functionary in the Castro regime. Its impatient message suggests both the virtues and failings of what is surely the most unusual government in the world.

Tales are legend of the confusion, or, more accurately, exuberant disorder, that animates Castro's reign. A believer in on-the-spot decisions, the "Maximum Leader" journeys up and down the island on an unpredictable schedule, tossing out commands on the march. Once, when he was busy with the promotion of tourism, he surveyed a hill outside of Havana and noted with satisfaction: "An excellent place for a tourist motel." The observation was duly noted and construction began forthwith. When the motel was complete—gleaming swimming pool and all—it was found that not a drop of water was available.

A correspondent tells of a visit to the National Institute of Agrarian Reform (INRA), the chief instrument of revolutionary reconstruction. He was interviewing INRA's director when a messenger came from the National Bank to pick up a check for $100,000. Confusion and dismay; a cluttered desk was quarried until the check turned up. At this point a schoolteacher walked in carrying a paper bag full of coins contributed by his pupils for agrarian reform. All work stopped, and with appropriate ceremony, the bagful of coins was emptied on the director's desk and all present began laboriously toting up the students' mites.

"You can be amused by things like that," the correspondent said, "but you really can't work up a good hate and write them all off as a bunch of reds."

This is the appealing side of the revolution—the mixture of youth and enthusiasm and undoubted honesty and a sense of mission. These qualities help explain why after nearly eighteen months in power Castro still commands the support of about eighty per cent of the Cuban people. To an American, the techniques of government may seem grotesque, even repugnant—the endless TV monologues, the cult of the beard, the beatnik aura, the crack of the firing squads. But to many Cubans they signify a clean break with an unlamented past, and it is perhaps on this ground that some of the unorthodox means can be justified.

More than that, Castro has produced results, even if his methods can be dismayingly arbitrary, and for once the underdog Cuban is convinced that he has a government that is not only honest, but cares.

The heart of the program has been agrarian reform aimed at freeing Cuba from its unhealthy dependence on sugar. With a rush of activity, INRA has fostered the production of rice, corn, peanuts, cotton, beans, and potatoes. Some 700 cooperatives and 1400 "People's Stores" have been created, and INRA now administers 109 business establishments worth about $235 million. According to the usually reliable *Wall Street Journal*, from which these statistics are taken, INRA has "intervened" (i.e., seized control on a supposedly temporary basis), expropriated, or confiscated about 13.4 million acres of land—an area almost half the size of Cuba.

Doubtless many of the INRA projects are of dubious efficiency, the tactics of "intervention" are frequently arbitrary, and the compensation offered for expropriated lands (twenty-year government bonds payable for the amount the property is assessed for tax purposes) is inadequate; yet a substantial beginning is being made in overhauling a sick, one-crop economy. Whatever happens to Castro, it is unthinkable that Cuba will revert to its somnolent old order. For good or ill, Castro has released energies on the island which will influence the direction of Cuban politics for years to come.

Schools have sprung up throughout the island; hospitals and roads have lifted some of the darkness from the rural back-country; with a single Draconian decree, Havana's notoriously high rentals have been reduced thirty to fifty per cent; a national lottery has financed the construction of new homes; in a burst of energy, Havana's drab airport was overhauled in about two weeks and has become a striking gateway to the island; agrarian reform has been relentlessly pushed. Perhaps most significant is the change in the popular attitude from fatalistic cynicism to collective enthusiasm for a massive reconstruction of Cuban life.

Fidelismo may seem the quintessence of zaniness to a puzzled *Norteamericano*, but to a Cuban who sees all about him tangible evidence of change it makes a good deal of sense indeed.

Affirmative achievements, however, do not make exciting news copy—a people's morale, after all, does not fit into the orthodox who-what-where-when wire service lead. Dr. Castro's personal excesses and demagogic attacks lend themselves more readily to headline treatment, with the result that most Americans receive a grossly distorted impression of what is happening in Cuba.

Cubans are bitterly and understandably critical of the American press for its negative approach and alleged bias. Certainly there have been damaging, even vicious, distortions of fact in the press and on radio and television. But the disquieting fact is, that even if press accounts of Cuban events tell only part of the truth, it is nonetheless just that—partly true.

A visitor in Havana does not have to travel around the city for long without feeling the tension and near-hysteria in the air. Children playing baseball on the streets chant *"Paredon! Paredon!"* ("Against the wall!") when the shortstop commits an error. Rumors seem to travel at supersonic

speed. Mere accusation of counter-revolutionary heresies can be sufficient to condemn.

If the fevered state of opinion can be excused as the natural consequence of social revolution, the means by which passions have been aroused can find no such justification. Last October, Castro first began using what could be called the Medium-Size Lie to inflame his followers. The occasion was a leaflet raid on Havana by a Florida-based plane. This was clearly a serious affront, but Castro's oratorical alchemy soon transformed the incident into a "bombing attack" and it was implied that Cuba had suffered an infamy comparable with Pearl Harbor. No responsible Cuban to whom I talked really believed that bombs were in fact dropped. Instead, the prevailing theory was that Castro needed a sensation to divert attention from the purge of a well-known anti-Communist within his own ranks.

Since then, the whoppers have multiplied. A ship blows up, scores of persons are killed, and the response is almost Pavlovian: the United States is to blame.

This progressive disregard for truth has been coupled with an increasing impatience with dissent. Few principles were more frequently invoked by Castro's rebels in the mountains than that of freedom of the press. In theory, such freedom is said to exist in Havana. But in practice, it is a brave editor who dares to tweak Dr. Castro's beard and risk the denunciation over television which is likely to follow. Any editor, furthermore, who has the audacity to publish a dispatch which members of his staff may feel is insufficiently flattering of Castro can be forced to append a footnote labeling his own paper as a purveyor of lies.

Invariably, the sad legacy of dictatorship is disorder and confusion. But in Cuba's case, it is especially troubling that so many of the institutions which can shelter dissent and cushion the state's impact are now weakened and discredited. Cuba's press was never a model of honesty and has scant moral authority to criticize the revolution. The island's universities were shuttered for so long during the revolution that precious continuity has been lost. The Catholic Church, which elsewhere in Latin America has been in the vanguard of revolution, played a much more timid role in Cuba. The old political parties come to court with soiled hands. The armed forces and civil service have been shattered by the revolution.

Justus in the Minneapolis Star

"Hello, Whiskers!"

As a result, there have been few obstacles to the spread of state authority. Cattle lands, yacht clubs, foreign firms, and newspapers have all been seized by Castro's ubiquitous agents. However high-minded the announced goal, the methods smack of the very dictatorship that Castro has deplored.

This, too, could perhaps be excused on the grounds of excessive revolutionary fervor except for the final and potentially most dangerous item in the brief against Castro: his government's worrisome tolerance for Communists.

To anyone who has followed Cuban events, it seems incredible that Castro should have yielded so much to the men at the farthest left. Until the closing days of the revolution, the Cuban Communists remained aloof from the rebels. The party's past collaboration with the Batista tyranny was an open scandal. Yet Castro has badly compromised his revolution by an alliance that could lead to a betrayal of his cause.

One reason for the Communist ascendance has been the powerful influence of Castro's brother Raul, head of the armed forces, and of Ernesto (Che) Guevera, the Argentine physician who now directs the National Bank. Both men are zealots with an impassioned hatred of the United States that can perhaps be understood only in clinical terms. But they have their hands on the levers of power and have been dismayingly successful in pruning out the moderates who once were part of the Castro circle. Each purge means that Castro's personal clique becomes more extreme, more removed from the realities of Cuban politics, and more committed to a course that can mean catastrophe for Cuban-American relations.

Few believe that Castro himself is a Communist. But Castro could well find himself surrounded and outflanked by a group he originally felt he could control. The Communists, unlike Castro, have a clear sense of purpose and know exactly what they want: control of the government or a policy sufficiently extreme to force direct United States intervention. A leading Cuban Communist puts it candidly: "We will give them back Hungary three times over."

Thanks to the enterprise of the American press, the dark side of the Cuban revolution is well known. But the press has been notably less enterprising about describing with equal vividness the reasons why Castro's revolution has overwhelming popular support. To a casual reader, the headlines about Cuba convey the impression of a country ruled by madmen and crypto-Communists who are perversely ungrateful to their rich uncle next door.

What the newspapers fail to add is that shin-kicking and brazen behavior were and are part of every important revolution—including our own. If the Cubans have been insufficiently sensitive to property rights, the same charge could be made against the American patriots who took over the lands of outraged Loyalists. If the Cubans are cockily nationalistic, it is worth recalling that "Don't Tread On Me" was the provocative slogan of our young republic. If the Cubans are flirting with a totalitarian foreign power, so did some American patriots who looked benignly on the Jacobins and The Terror in France.

By their very nature, revolutionaries are a difficult lot to deal with—whether in Egypt, Iraq, Mexico, or Algeria. The task of statesmanship is to look beyond the irritations of the present to a calmer future when tempers have subsided. This is what Franklin D. Roosevelt did in the

1930s when the Mexicans were busy seizing oil properties, parceling out land, and harassing the Catholic Church. Because of the restraint shown then, relations between Mexico and the United States are today a model of amicability.

To his great credit, President Eisenhower has sensed this need and has maintained an admirable calm about Cuba while others are calling for an end to "appeasement." In the Cuban context, "appeasement" is a highly misleading word since it implies a craven surrender of principle in the face of a bully with a stick. It is evident to all the world that this country could squash the Cuban revolution by a few rudimentary military and economic measures. But to retaliate against Castro now would be merely to confirm the stereotype of Marxists everywhere (but especially in Latin America) of an imperialistic giant bent on imposing its will on a small and helpless nation.

Rather, Mr. Eisenhower's approach seems to be to wait until Castro's own recklessness proves his undoing. Despite a much-publicized trade agreement with Russia, the Cuban economy is in difficult straits. Shortages are already causing restive complaints as import controls cut the inflow of consumer goods. Given time, the wooliness of some of Castro's economic theories should become readily apparent to the Cuban people themselves.

When—and if—this occurs, the United States might be in a position to help out on those programs in Cuba which deserve support. Whatever the differences with Castro, this country would be foolish to appear to oppose a revolution still rich in promise, no matter how erratically it sometimes wanders off its course. To do otherwise would be to place the United States in the position of opposing schools, hospitals, land reform, and industrialization, as well as the hotheads who reign in Havana.

The problem confronting the United States is not an easy one. But Governor Luis Munoz Marin of Puerto Rico (who has no reason to love Castro) has stated the approach that may yet bring both countries to safe harbor. "The United States ought to display to Cuba," Marin urges, "the forbearance that greatness shows to immaturity."

The Two Worlds

The Germans Again

by MILTON MAYER

This is part of a series of articles by Milton Mayer, whose recent and extended travels took him not only to the "tourist beat" of Poland and the Soviet Union, but throughout East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary as a guest of the Protestant churches of those countries. Mr. Mayer, who has lived in Germany, is the author of a book on the Germans, They Thought They Were Free.—THE EDITORS.

GOING BACK to Germany is always a little like going back home; the more so now, since American *decor*, American jerry-built, American hustle, and American heart attack pervade the scene. It *smells* like home, and not like the grease of England or the oil of France. It *tastes* like home, with its hamburgers, its frankfurters, its noodle soup, and its coffeecake. It *looks* like home (without the war), or like what we wish that home looked like. And the Germans are like us, or like what we wish we were: clean, dependable, thorough, and, withal, ingenious and inventive. A practical people, like us, except for—except for what?

An American, if he is anything more than anything else, is a German without a history. If we were very old and cramped into our land and of homogeneous stock, why wouldn't we be as solid and mercurial, as dull and romantic, as the Germans? We have the makin's: Where they have anti-Semitism without Jews, we have anti-Communism without Communists. Where they disable real Communists—forbidding them to be—we disable real Negroes. Who is like us except them? Where except there do you get *American* fried potatoes?

Last Holy Night—how loudly they and we sing *Heilige Nacht!*—a swastika was daubed on the synagogue wall of Cologne. There used to be twenty thousand Jews in Cologne, many of them highly placed. Now there are twelve hundred, not placed at all. Then, over the holiday time—an unsettling time everywhere—the daubs appeared all over West Germany.

A great alarum went up. Hitler's ghost was walked again. And in America it was inevitable that the editor of the New York *Times* should suspect that the daubs were the work of Communist *provocateurs*. If they weren't, they must be the work of our good German allies, the bulwark of democracy, the people who eat *American* fried potatoes. Germans, old, cramped, and homogeneous, have long since learned to tell their masters what their masters want to hear, so Dr. Adenauer told the Americans that it must be the work of the Communists. Then the daubs appeared in America—was this the work of the Communists, too?

The alternative assumption, of a recrudescence of Nazism in Germany, was much more painful. Hadn't we exterminated Nazism? Hadn't the Germans been denazified? Must we reappraise everything we have done and appraise it as a failure? Must we begin all over again to think about the gas ovens that we had forgotten and tried to get the Germans to forget? Must we dream that one bull-

headed old man stands between NATO and another Ribbentrop-Molotov pact?

Both alternatives are unrealistic. Nazism and its identifying trappings—including the swastika—are stone dead in Germany. Like the Germans, who beat and hanged democracy out of people, we hanged and beat Nazism out of the Germans. We ordered it to disappear, and it obeyed orders like a good German. When I first went to Germany after the war, the Ami had forbidden the Germans to use the good German word *"Fuhrer,"* "leader," any more; they were ordered to say *"Leiter"* instead. So they said *"Leiter."*

Best of all—again and again the foreigner heard it, in Germany, in 1935 and in 1950—say nothing. Whatever is right today may be wrong tomorrow. *Be Prepared.* That is why German school books and teachers are silent about Nazism; best of all, say nothing. That is why the student agitators against remilitarization ten years ago are non-political professional men now; best of all, say nothing.

So the Germans were denazified, democratized, and re-educated. They were re-educated to say *Ja* to a different set of questions; the same *Ja.* And the same Germans, with the same indefatigable virtues that made Milwaukee famous and Auschwitz infamous. The only thing that had happened to them—things don't happen fast—was their utter disillusionment with the word Nazism and all its trappings. It had committed the worst of all German (or American) crimes: It had failed.

Something else had begun to happen to them. Just begun. This was the suspicion that militarism meant war and that war wasn't good for them. It had destroyed their country in the place where destruction teaches—inside their homes. There was nothing left but the walls of hundreds of thousands of German homes, and a German home is built to stand forever. It no longer stood. War hadn't made pacifists of the Germans, for pacifism is as un-German as it is un-American; but it had given them (in their own polite phrase) a nose-ful of war.

Their suspicion that militarism and war were not good for them was fortified by their new masters. They were told—these were Harry Truman's words and Dwight Eisenhower's, as they had been Franklin Roosevelt's—that militarism had been their ruin and they were going to be saved from future ruin by being demilitarized forever. The poet who said that forever is a long time hadn't met any American Presidents and generals.

1952 was the year. In 1951 I saw a movie produced by the U.S. High Command for the Occupation of Germany. It recited the glories of peace. The doves were as thick as American cigarettes in the black market of Frankfurt. The movie explained the indispensability of disarmament to the reconstruction of German civilization, and even (for the pious Germans) to salvation. Ten years later an American seeing it would have said that it was Communist propaganda.

1952 was the year. The American policy—first principles, when they are about to be scuttled, become policies—was reversed. Not altered, or revised, or revamped; reversed. Now militarism was good for the Germans, so good for them that we would pay for it, the way we'd paid for food and clothing under the abandoned Marshall Plan. But didn't militarism mean war? No, militarism meant peace. There is a thick-headed German cartoon character called *dummer Michel. Dummer Michel* had to get the idea.

He got the idea all right; he said *Ja* to a different set of questions, but the idea he got was not the one that his *Ja* suggested. He got the idea that the Americans were cynics—what J. Edgar Hoover, speaking of Communists, calls masters of deceit. The Nazis hadn't been cynics, whatever else they had been. They had believed what they said, though what they said was awful. The Americans—that is, "democracy," which Hitler had told them was cynical—were cynics. They were going to use Michel for a powder monkey. If they were going to fight the Russians, they were going to fight them in Germany, with Germans. Michel was a barricade on the highway to America.

But Michel would not be used, not, at least, by foreigners who had just finished burning his house down. Michel isn't that dumb. Michel is accustomed, collectively, if not individually, to using other people. That's what it means to be a superior race. That, and nothing else.

So Michel became cynical, and the burgeoning suspicion that militarism and war were not good for him flickered out. Militarism and war—as long as it was only cold war—were wonderful for him. It made him prosperous, just as it always had. And the Ami paid for it all. In 1945 he had only his bare hands, marvelously energetic, persistent, and talented hands. The Ami filled them. His merchants of death were newly financed by the Ami. Herr Krupp personally, the man the Ami had tried to hang as a war criminal, went back to his 90,000 *Kruppianer* with Ami money to rebuild Krupp's and put them back to work. The Ami had confirmed what the *Kruppianer* had believed all along—that you can't get along without a good *Leiter.*

Herr Friedrich Flick, the great industrialist, was Hitler's armorer. In his factories, during the war, the lower races, imported in freight cars, worked and died, not as men, or as prisoners, but as slaves. Last year, on Herr Flick's seventy-fifth birthday, he received a telegram congratulating him on his "great and amazing life of achievement, in long, self-sacrificing toil." The sender of the telegram was not a Communist *provocateur,* but Konrad Adenauer.

Only a people diverted by daubs on walls can ask, "Can these things be?" These things not only can be; they must be. These are the things our deceit demanded. We did not restore one-man government in Germany; we restored all the conditions that made one-man government inevitable, along with the daubs on the walls. *Der alte*—"the old one"—the Germans call him.

We did not create in Germany. We could not. Civilizations grow organically. The only thing you can do is watch them; maybe nourish them a little here, starve them a little there. That's all. They grow from within. Within the Germany that never accepted the Weimar democracy were the seeds of Hitlerism and Adenauerism. These were the seeds the French and English blockade nourished after the first war, by starving the Germans. They are the seeds we Americans

nourished after the second, by feeding them deceit.

The seeds are deep. And they seem to be in most Germans; maybe all. I think of my anti-Nazi friends—some of them heroes—in Germany when the Ami proscripted the new Nazi party after the war. They thought the Ami were right; even they. When I said, "But that's not democracy," they said, "Germany is not ready for democracy. It will take years, maybe centuries." The Germans weren't ready to be taught democracy, and their teachers weren't ready to teach them. *Forbid* anti-Semitism; *forbid* Communism; tell the motions of the heart to go away.

Can these things be? Can it be that there are German judges who were Nazi judges, German teachers who were Nazi teachers, German police chiefs who were Nazi police chiefs, German cabinet ministers who were Nazi satraps? In *West* Germany, yes. These things can be and are because they must be. These men are the reliable men. They can be relied upon to do what Krupp and Adenauer want done: to fight Communism. They have done it before.

In 1946 we hanged Germany's two best generals for the brand new crime—the first postwar deceit—of obeying orders. Who were to be the generals of the new German army? Of course there was never again to be a German army, but, just in case there ever was, who were its generals to be? Napoleon's? Hannibal's? Or the German generals we didn't hang? "Oh, well," said the American liberal, or servant of deceit, "if the Germans are to be rearmed, at least they'll be a part of a NATO army." But they aren't.

The Truth About Nixon

by WILLIAM V. SHANNON

Because of a flood of requests from subscribers, we have gone to press with a reprint of Shannon's article on Richard Nixon.

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If Germany is to be armed, who will arm it? The slave laborers Krupp murdered, or Krupp? What choice has Adenauer as the rampart of American parliamentary capitalism? What choice have the Germans? It is we who had a choice in Germany. We had the choice of getting out of there and of giving without getting. But that would have meant a settlement with the Communists, a "surrender." Better to surrender the Germans again, to the forces within them that had ruined them.

Whoever has lived in Germany recently knows that its three dominant motifs are cynicism and materialism (both of them imported from America) and a frustrated hunger for something to live for. Anti-Communism—without Nazism—is only something to live against. The Germans are supposed to be ashamed of having been the first Nazis and proud of having been the first anti-Communists. Like the rest of us, they reject the shame and accept the pride. But a man needs something to live *for*.

The sharp increase in anti-Semitic incidents began in the fall of 1958, with the Berlin crisis. An analysis of them in the succeeding months reveals that in every case (except one) where the perpetrators were identified, the offenses were committed by middle-aged, lower middle-class men: The veterans, not of the murderous SS or the professional Gestapo, but of the hoodlum SA. The boys with the electric canes.

But the pressure has been building in the German pressure cooker since the Occupation of 1945. It was intensified with the air lift of 1948. In 1952, with the cold war the central fact of life, and Germany in the nutcracker, came the American *Diktat* to remilitarize. The *Diktat* was forced upon the rising generation, whose dream of a new world had been the wonderful phenomenon of postwar Europe. But they were not to have the chance to be something other than what their fathers had been. Do you remember Silone's frustrated anti-fascist who could think of nothing to do but sneak out at night and scribble *No* on the village walls? What the swastikas mean on the German walls today is *No. No* to a rotten world. German beatnikism. Now it will be *young* men, who have never known a Jew.

People under pressure need the pressure taken off them; that first of all. If you can't do anything else for them, at least you can do nothing to worsen their situation. The pressure of German life is terrific. "You just look at the banks of the Moselle," an old Nazi once told me. "The Frenchman's farm is falling down, and he is leaning against a tree smoking his pipe. On the other bank you see the fine German houses and the fine German fields and the German people working hard." But when a German wants to tell you about his holiday in Italy—where the farms fall down the fastest—he says he lived *"wie Gott in Frankreich,"* "like God in France."

All he wants is to live like God in France, to relax, so that he can be less industrious, less conscientious, and less efficient without feeling like a truant or a traitor. He needs a new word, not for *leader*, but for *duty*. If he were less dutiful, he might be more lovable. If he were more lovable, he might be loved. Being loved is inconceivable to him now.

Loving him is inconceivable, too, and as long as he isn't loved he will have to hate and be hated. A Czech Sunday school superintendent told me he was putting a confirmation class through the parables and asked them, "Are the Italians our neighbors?" "Yes," the class said in unison. "The Russians?" "Yes." "The Poles?" "Yes." *"The Americans?"* "Yes." "The Germans?" There was no answer. "I repeated the experience," he said, "in every class I visited. We are afraid of the Germans, and we hate them. We still think of them as the Nazis, and the Marxists won't let us forget the Nazis."

We Americans tried to forget the Nazis—and we found the Germans helping us. We tried to remember the anti-Communists—and we found the Nazis helping us. "The Communists won't let us forget the Nazis," said the Christian who believes in forgiveness of sin. In all the Communist countries exhibits of Nazi horrors continue,

year after year. Visits to the mass graves of Nazi victims are *de rigeur* for the tourist in eastern Europe. Not in the West. The West would seem to be the more Christian—if only forgetting were the same as forgiving.

There are no former Nazis in high public office in what our State Department calls the so-called German Democratic Republic. None. And whatever form the furtive *No* takes in East Germany, it does not take the form of the swastika. The Russians have put *their* Germans under fearful pressure, but its essence is positive. The dutiful East Germans have been put to work building a new world which most of them—two-thirds would be a conservative estimate—do not like. But three-thirds of them are free from cynicism and materialism. Like it or not, they are building for tomorrow under the Russians; their Western brethren are building for yesterday.

East Germany as a whole is cheerless to look at. Nothing better illustrates the contrary notions of capitalism and Communism than the difference in the Western and Eastern *facades*—a difference that staggers every visitor to the two Berlins. In the West the first thing that is built (or rebuilt, or repaired, or repainted) is a front for the quick sell; built by whoever has money or credit to build it. In the East, the totalitarian state mobilizes money, material, and manpower, and builds for the slow sell. This is not as un-European as it is un-American; this is the way it was once done everywhere in Europe. Nor are the few colossal—and often atrocious—stadiums, memorials, and People's Palaces in the East un-European; the Napoleons always built themselves public Colosseums, Etoiles, and Tivolis.

It isn't that the Communist governments don't want tourists; they need the foreign currency desperately, and they want the brainwashed Westerner to come and have his brain rewashed. But first things first. They do not want tourists as much as they want tools. What was once lovely Dresden is like Dusseldorf fifteen years ago—the whole center of the city is bare—but outside Leipzig you may see, stripping the earth for soft coal, the largest movable piece of machinery in the world.

The real economic miracle of Germany is in the East, not in the West.

Mauldin in the St. Louis Post Dispatch

"Well, We Certainly Got You Back On Y-YOUR Feet!"

East Germany was an agricultural area, with a large infertile strip running through it. This Ohio-sized land is—or was—as hopelessly incapable of economic self-support as Israel. In 1936 what is now West Germany produced sixty-two times as much iron as the East, thirty-three times as much hard coal, seventeen times as much iron ore, twelve times as much ingot steel.

Today the per capita consumption of butter, sugar, and animal fat in the East is higher than it is in the West; rationed coal is half the Western price and even unrationed coal is lower than the Western price; per capita production of electricity surpasses not only West Germany's, but Russia's, and it is half as expensive as West Germany's. Steel production, starting almost at zero, will surpass West Germany's in two years.

How was it done? It was done in part with the assistance of Russian credits and imports that was niggardly compared to America's priming of the West. It was done with the frightening German energy, efficiency, and conscientiousness that did it in the West, but without Krupps and without Nazis. It was done with German genius: Without a drop of oil—a pipeline from Russia is being built—a whole chemical industry (including the production of all motor fuel) was built on soft coal.

But East Germany was, apart from Bohemia, the one truly bourgeois area of the world taken by the Communists. This meant iron dictatorship. And unlike Bohemia, it was the country of Russia's worst enemy. This meant more iron dictatorship. The Russians have no intention whatever of taking any chances with the recently Nazi Germans (or the recently fascist Hungarians). The awful intensity of control is reflected by the white-lettered red signs and banners everywhere proclaiming, "Undying Friendship with the Soviet Union," "Victory for Socialism," "We Build for Tomorrow." Bourgeois Germans, being bourgeois, are hard to communize; being Germans, they are easy.

For ten years, until 1958, they did their Communist duty without bourgeois reward. They hated it, but they did it. Consumer goods were bitterly thin and poor. Were there no other reason for ducking out of the East, that was enough. And goods are still lower in quality than they are in the West, and imports non-existent. But the staples, and most of the amenities, are in full supply now, and the controlled prices are lower than the West's. Of course the East Germans have come down in the world they attacked; they have not been rewarded for being Nazis.

What is increasingly clear in both Germanys—and everywhere else, on the quiet—is that they will not be reunited for a long, long time. It seemed possible once, even inevitable; after all, they had the same history and the same nationality and the same language. Long after the cold war reached its hottest, West Germans still longed (as only Germans can long) for their Eastern brethren and treated them as royally as the larder could afford. No more. "Refugee" has come to mean not only a burden on the Western taxpayer, but an enemy from the Communist, and always more thoroughly communized and competitive, East.

For the East Germans, almost entirely Protestant, reunification means the Catholic clericalism of Adenauer—and war besides. For the West Germans, it means economic support of the Eastern zone and, for centrist and rightist West Germans, an upset of the political balance from the area which was always the stronghold of

German socialism. The Christian Democratic Union loses local election after local election—local power in Germany is mostly administrative—but in three successive national elections, with Adenauer at the head of the ticket, it wins easily. The West German Social Democrats have just renounced their socialist doctrine.

For the Russians reunification means the German aggressor on the border again, and, of course, for the Poles, Czechs, and the Hungarians. And for the Poles and the Czechs it means the loss of their "German" territory. NATO lip service to reunification is nothing but cold war. The capitalist world has no interest in weakening itself by bringing the socialist portion of Germany back into Germany, and the past and potential victims of a united Germany are safe (or at least safer) as long as the Germans are divided against one another.

Germany symbolizes the paralysis of the West. Here is a nominally Christian people who apotheosize the Western Christian virtues of honesty, industry, courage, and efficiency. The German is the Boy Scout *par excellence*. But it is this German who carried Western Christian racism to the unmannerly extreme which his fellow Christians dare neither to recognize in themselves nor condone in him. The Nazi monster was the monster of the existing order, from *our* existing order. He emerged from the things we admire or accept.

The Communist monster is nothing but the monster of revolution, of any revolution, the monstrosity which rejects the existing order. The evil of Nazism was our evil, the evil of the present. The evil of Communism is the evil of the future, and the future can always argue, as it does, that its evils are forced upon it by the death struggle of the present.

As long as the Germany of Adenauer—which is the Germany of Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower—nourishes the seeds of the Germany of Hitler, the West will not be able to move. It will be afraid of itself. This is the significance of the swastika on the walls, a significance much more awful than the nightmare shape of the crooked cross. Nazism—which the swastika recalls and, recalling, sets us barking up the wrong tree—is as dead as the Edsel. The new model won't look like the one that flopped; but it will run.

The Democratic Struggle in India

by RUTH WIDMAYER

If democracy succeeds in India the prospects of survival for the entire free world will be vastly enhanced. Should it fail, the aspirations of the economically underdeveloped peoples everywhere for technological progress along with the preservation of human dignity will receive a shattering blow.

Indian society still retains aspects of its authoritarian past—a hierarchal caste system, and submergence of the individual in the patriarchal family. But counterbalancing these forces are the concepts of liberalism, equalitarianism, and individualism which inspired the leaders of the independence movement, and which they, and their successors, have been trying to implement in the post-independence period. Jawaharlal Nehru, who has been India's only prime minister since it became independent, has favored a blend of socialism and democracy and, thus far, has been able to carry with him a majority of the Congress Party and the approval of the masses.

But democracy in India remains a tender shoot. It is nourished by parliamentary government, popular elections, and a free press. But it is weakened by the lack of a genuine opposition party; and Nehru is less the leader of a majority party with mass appeal than an idolized charismatic father figure. There are ominous divisive trends in the country. On the question of languages, for example, the large states of northern India favor the adoption of Hindi as the official language, while in the south, where Hindi is not spoken, this is rigorously opposed. The southern Indians nourish other grievances, too, among them a belief that the national government, dominated by representatives of the northern states, does not provide the south proportional advantages in economic development.

In addition to internal pressures, India's nascent democracy faces a new threat from across her borders. China's bellicose behavior toward India during the past year may be motivated as much by a desire to see India's democratic image destroyed as by sheer expansionism. India has undertaken the unprecedented task of striving to develop genuinely democratic institutions while simultaneously attempting large scale industrialization and broad social welfare programs. Never before has a major nation attempted to do all these things in so brief a span of time.

If India should succeed in this ambitious venture, her influence in Asia would far exceed China's, with her atheism, forced commune-ization, and terrorist methods. Once the people of the Orient saw the possibility of economic and social improvement without the ruthless measures of Communist China, they would be only too happy to follow the Indian example rather than the Chinese. But if the Indian experiment were to end in failure, it would be a crushing blow to the hope for the development of free institutions in much of Asia.

One means of insuring a setback—if not total disaster—to India's economic and social development pro-

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grams would be to create among the Indian people and their leaders such fear of foreign aggression that huge military appropriations would supplant expenditures for education, industry, and village improvements. Anxiety toward other powers might lead not only to the curtailment of economic development but also to the undermining of political freedoms. A young country which feels itself threatened by powerful external forces often feels it cannot afford the luxury of criticism of the government's policies, strikes by workers in essential industries, or opposition political parties. In a recent emotion-packed address on the question of India's defense, a speaker said: "The time has come when whoever is not with us is against us. . . . We must exterminate the internal danger." He was referring to Communists, but there is little doubt that the rights of others would be trampled along with the Communists' if such a view should prevail.

If a Rightist government created mass dissatisfaction by producing resentment among those silenced and deprived of their previous liberties, it might be overthrown by a coalition of Leftist forces, led by the Communists. The only real chance for Communism to succeed in India would be under conditions of chaos and despair. The disruption of the economy which would be caused by a massive defense program in an underdeveloped country and the frustrations produced by the muzzling of a volatile people accustomed to mass protest movements might lead the people in desperation to give the Communists a chance. This would amply vindicate the Chinese for their present strategy.

Even in the more likely event that a Rightist regime could maintain itself in power, the Chinese have little to lose, since such a regime would deprive India of her unique appeal in Asia as the foremost exponent of *political democracy plus economic progress and social reform*. Whether either of these developments is the actual goal of the Chinese Communists or would merely be the unintended consequence of Chinese actions makes no real difference as far as the ultimate impact is concerned.

India's ability to withstand pressures from either the Right or the Left depends in any event on the strength and viability of her social, political, and economic institutions; if the Chinese threats continue the strain will simply be that much greater.

While it is true there is no genuine opposition political party in India as a whole, there are opposition groups at the state and local levels, some with considerable strength. In the state of West Bengal the Communists are the chief opposition. In Kerala they were the governing party until recently, and actually gained popular support in a recent election. But in the other twelve states Communist influence is slight. The Praja Socialist Party (PSP) and other Socialist groups have pockets of popularity here and there, but no nationwide appeal. They are lacking in forceful leadership and meaningful alternatives to the Congress Party's program. Except for Nehru, there are few political figures who command allegiance in all parts of the country. The Socialist leader who had greatest national stature and respect, Jayaprakash Narayan, abandoned politics to join Vinoba Bhave, the saintly, non-political leader of the voluntary movement to give land to the peasants.

During the past year a new political movement was launched. Though still in its infancy, it may soon emerge as a major factor in Indian politics. Led by the former governor general of India, C. Rajagopalachari, a man of considerable fame and distinction, the

Swatantra (Independent) Party already has won over a number of dissident members of the Congress Party who have long resented the Leftist bias of the party under Nehru's tutelage. Conservative in its orientation —it favors much greater scope for private enterprise—the movement has attracted many businessmen and industrialists and is thus in a position to finance its campaigns more generously than the other parties.

The Swatantra Party may find favor among the fairly large number of people who are fed up with the corruption and lack of dynamism so often found in the Congress Party and who do not see any suitable alternative among the other parties. But it is questionable if a conservative party can secure a genuine mass following in a country of hungry peasants and discontented workers who look with envy and suspicion at those who wield great economic power. Though conservative in its economic program, the Swatantra Party is dedicated to the principles of old-fashioned liberalism and is in no sense a Fascist type of organization. Nehru has criticized it as an exponent of the Nineteenth Century brand of liberalism and for being out of step with the times.

One of the biggest threats to Indian political democracy is widespread, massive unemployment, especially among the educated element of the population. The Communists' following is greatest in precisely those areas where the educated unemployed are found in largest numbers. Under the second Five-Year Plan unemployment increased rather than declined, despite the development of many new industries. The problem of unemployment in India is uniquely complex and baffling because in addition to a huge surplus population which cannot at once be absorbed into even an expanding economy, there are psychological and cultural problems of considerable magnitude. In Calcutta, there is a shortage of skilled artisans and a great over-supply of both unskilled and educated workers. One of my Indian acquaintances had been out of work for two years but he refused to take a job in a jute mill: he wants to be a "peon," delivering messages, running errands, and doing odd jobs—a respectable occupation, in his eyes, as it involves work in an office. This boy has had about six years of education and knows a little English; he won't take just any job.

Those with more education are even fussier about the work they will accept. The ranks of the unemployed

are filled with college graduates who refuse to take jobs involving manual labor. Thus, the building of new factories and the establishment of new industries will not necessarily solve the problem of unemployment, especially among the group which reacts most explosively to enforced idleness —the rebellious intellectuals. Their aspiration is a government job, which has the highest prestige in India, or a white-collar job in an office. To endow manual labor with dignity and respect is a difficult task among a people who have traditionally regarded such activity with disdain. This prejudice is beginning to break down, but it is still a serious hindrance to economic development.

The more youth who become educated, the more acute this problem becomes—and each year the colleges and universities become more crowded. High school graduates who are unsuccessful in finding office jobs with only a high school diploma think that a college degree will help them make the grade professionally. But upon securing their bachelor's degrees, they once again find themselves academically outclassed. In Calcutta an advertisement for a dispatcher drew over five thousand applications, many of them from holders of master's degrees. The disappointed job seeker does not ordinarily accept work as a factory hand—though he may take a job as a bus or taxi driver; he tries to get admission to a university for a master's degree. If he fails in this attempt, he falls back on his family—as indeed he may have to do even if he secures an M.A. The joint family is still the prevailing system, where not only the husband, wife, and their children, but the husband's parents, brothers, unmarried sisters, and sometimes aunts and cousins all live together. If one or two members of the family are unemployed, the rest have that much less of what the other members' earn. Under these conditions, unemployment is not quite so great a catastrophe as it is in societies where every individual must fend for himself.

Students who face slim prospects of securing satisfying work after they receive their degrees do not throw themselves wholeheartedly into their studies. They become easy prey to extreme political ideologies. Demoralization among students has led to a serious breakdown of discipline in the universities. Students not only often support workers' strikes and political demonstrations; if the college administration adopts a policy the students don't like, they go on strike themselves. Students who are expelled sometimes resort to hunger strikes until the administration relents and readmits them. On a number of occasions when students at Calcutta University objected to their examinations they angrily tore them up and stalked out of the room, smashing chairs and desks as they went. Instead of being expelled, they were given examinations more to their liking! During the past year student rowdyism has been so extreme that three large universities were forced to close down temporarily.

There are some hopeful signs. Several government agencies are working hard at bringing about improvements in the educational system and already there are some universities which are pioneering in new directions. India inherited the British system which was intended to train a relatively few superior students for jobs in the administration. It offered a classical and literary curriculum; there was scarcely any technical education because England was not concerned with industrialization in India. Now a large number of engineering and technical institutes and colleges are being established and more practical subjects are being introduced into the curricula of the existing institutions.

The Indian government is acutely aware of the awesome population problem facing the country. It is perhaps the only government in the world which officially sponsors a gigantic program of family planning, allotting millions of dollars annually for this purpose. In the state of Madras alone there are fourteen urban and eighty-four rural family planning centers. As many as 70,000 men in this state have undergone sterilization operations in government clinics. A whole block in downtown Calcutta has virtually nothing but shops advertising "Supplies for Family Planning" and contraceptives are sold openly by street vendors along with candy and

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cigarettes. Although it is mainly the upper classes which are availing themselves of these devices, knowledge of birth control is beginning to trickle down to other layers of the population.

To achieve a democratic way of life in India means eliminating the age-old barriers of the caste system in which one's position in life is determined not by his abilities but by his birth. The lowliest are the untouchables, known both as Harijans—the term used by Gandhi, meaning Children of God—and as members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, because their names were entered on lists, or schedules, by the British government. The basis of untouchability is partly occupational and partly religious. Sweepers, garbage haulers, and washermen are Harijans because they perform work which involves unclean objects. Fishermen, tanners, leatherworkers, and shoemakers are untouchables because they work with animal products.

In addition to caste distinctions, there is also a deep-seated color prejudice in India. The early Hindu conquerors were acutely conscious of their fair complexions in contrast with the dark skin of the people they ruled, and over the years high status came to be connected with light skin color. In some cases the higher castes are fair and the lower castes are dark. One's skin color does not make much difference educationally or professionally, but it is of the utmost consequence with respect to marriage, especially for girls. Many newspapers carry matrimonial advertisements, which often read like this: "Light complexion bride with at least intermediate [high school] education, for graduate officer . . ."

The entire caste system is perpetuated through marriage. Parents generally consider only persons from the same caste as suitable marriage partners for their children. Even among liberal, Westernized Indians, arranged marriages still continue, with few exceptions. Last winter one of my brightest students, the daughter of a professor, invited me to her wedding. She sat huddled in one room, surrounded by the women-folk, while the groom held forth in another part of the house. After I had met the groom and had rejoined her, she asked me, plaintively, "Is he good looking?" She saw her husband for the first time later in the evening during the last part of the wedding ceremony.

There has been no attempt to stamp out the caste system by fiat, but the government is doing a great deal to improve conditions for the untouchables. To encourage inter-caste marriages, several of the state governments give special bounties to an untouchable man who marries a higher caste girl or supplies the equivalent of a dowry for an untouchable girl marrying a man from another caste. Though the government has made the practice of untouchability a criminal offense, there are still instances where Harijans are treated with contempt and cruelty in the villages. To cope more effectively with the problem of raising Harijans to the status of first-class citizens, the government provides many positive benefits for them. The national parliament and the state legislatures set aside a certain number of reserved seats for representatives of Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In areas where there are a large number of Harijans, double-member constituencies are set up—one seat open to any candidate, the other only to a Harijan. Each state has at least one Harijan minister and Harijan legislators in proportion to the percentage of untouchables in the population.

Government offices and enterprises provide a certain number of jobs only for Harijans and the qualifications for them are lower than for other applicants. Universities also reserve places for Harijans and they are admitted with poorer academic records than those of higher caste students. All this is giving untouchables greater economic independence and making it possible for them to choose alternatives to their traditional occupations, which, in turn, will eventually lead to the withering away of untouchability. Sometimes untouchables have changed their names, as surnames indicate caste, but now the tendency is to go back to the old Harijan name to take advantage of the many special privileges which Harijans receive.

Despite India's challenging goal of an industrialized and modernized welfare state run by a politically democratic system, there are no elan-inspiring movements, leaders, or ideologies. No crusading spirit, no sense of dedication animates the people. The vast majority of the population—the peasants—has only the faintest notion of what the transformation of the country is all about. The educated city workers and professionals who do understand are not eager to make any sacrifices for the sake of achieving the goals of the Five-Year Plans. They want to keep all

their holidays—and India has more than any country in the world; a short working day; the right to strike, not only against management but against government policies, without losing any pay; and the privilege of accepting only those jobs which appeal to them. But in a sense these weaknesses are also a kind of strength—there are no attempts to force support of government policies, no regimentation, no phony campaigns to enlist popular passions, no exaggerated claims that today's privations will bring tomorrow's paradise.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the Indian experiment and perhaps its source of greatest strength is the constant concern of the government to secure popular consent for its policies. This is one of the chief reasons for the gradualness of many of the changes occurring in Indian society. Because the government has carried the people along by voluntary consent and has not forced social change at a pace which would have been resented and resisted, the people are loyal and will defend the state against external attack if the need arises. Moreover, Indians are likely to defend the major democratic reforms from encroachments by either conservative economic interests or ultra-radical political movements since they have been the beneficiaries of these reforms and have, through their own elected representatives, brought the changes into being.

The Legacy of Jane Addams

by LUCY P. CARNER

When Jane Addams died in May, 1935, at the age of 74, Walter Lippmann wrote of her: "It is to renew men's faith, so hard to hold, so easy to lose, that saints are born as witnesses and as examples. Jane Addams was a witness to the ancient American faith that a democracy can be noble and that serenity and pity and understanding . . . can pervade the spirit of a strong and of a proud people."

Now, on the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Jane Addams, it is only to renew faith in the possibility of such a society, and to renew commitment to its fulfillment that a Centennial observance can be justified.

The story of Jane Addams is highlighted throughout by her wide outreach and her broad interests. It would be difficult to find a worthy cause in the United States from 1890 through the first two decades of the Twentieth Century which she did not champion. There were the various programs ministering to the needs and enhancing the self-respect of her Hull House neighbors in Chicago's south side slums. From her intimate knowledge of their lives grew her work for child labor legislation, for psychiatric services for children, for justice and mercy for the immigrant, for trade union organization, for interracial understanding, for women's suffrage, for reform in city government, for civil liberties. She moved on to work for national political action which would "give corporate expression to sentiments of compassion and social justice." Her reach finally encompassed the whole world as she strove to achieve an internationalism founded upon the meeting of universal human needs.

But these activities do not represent separate compartments in the life of Jane Addams. If she achieved the serenity that her pictures, the style of her writing, and the impressions of her friends would indicate, it was because she saw life whole, felt the interrelationship of events and knew their place in history; and because she found in her daily experiences with people nurture for her spirit.

People generally remember only her deeds of mercy and the gentleness of her ways, but have forgotten her championship of unpopular causes—many of which are accepted and even cherished today. Hull House was threatened with loss of support because she felt she must try to interpret the Pullman Company workers' strike against a "good employer." She was frequently accused of meddling in politics instead of sticking to her service to the poor. She knew what it meant to be ostracized and to be the subject of attack by "patriotic" organizations, for she was finally a protagonist of "that most unpopular of causes—peace in time of war."

Because the contribution of Jane Addams to Hull House and to the whole settlement movement is a familiar story, and the results of her struggles for justice to the poor and oppressed have been to a large degree incorporated into our common life, I would emphasize her contribution to the making of international peace—perhaps the largest item in the agenda of her unfinished business.

It is significant that she subtitled her book, *The Second Twenty Years at Hull House,* "The Record of a Growing World Consciousness." From her experience living in a crowded, dirty, exploited, working-class neighborhood in Chicago, among people drawn from the ghettos and villages of the often-warring nations of Europe, Jane Addams drew her faith in the naturalness and, therefore, the inevitability of peace. It was not, as she said, that her neighbors were "shouting for peace." It was rather that the struggle of the unsuccessful for their very existence drew them together in mutual helpfulness, and the old quarrels of Europe faded into insignificance under the pressures of the new world.

"A new internationalism," she wrote in *The Second Twenty Years,* "I believed was arising in the cosmopolitan centers of America, a sturdy and unprecedented international understanding which in time would be too profound to lend itself to war." She felt also a new heroism connected with labor and the "nourishing of human life" as an important contribution to that "moral equivalent of war" which, she agreed with William James, must be discovered and used.

Even though immediate hope for peace was shattered by World War I, Jane Addams never relinquished her faith in "those ideals of the humble which all religious teachers unite in declaring to be the foundations of a sincere moral life." In 1913 she became chairman of the Woman's Peace Party, thus identifying herself formally with the organized peace movement.

She had identified herself also with the international movement for woman's suffrage, which was to her a natural development of her belief that women had something valuable to contribute to government out of their own life experience. "It seems at moments," she wrote, "as if we were about to extend indefinitely what we

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call our public, and that, unless it were stretched to world dimensions, the most significant messages of our time might easily escape us." In 1913 she attended a meeting in Europe of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and thus became known personally to women in Europe.

In the first month of the war Rosika Schwimmer of Hungary outlined a scheme for a conference of neutrals for mediation, and came to the United States to enlist help for the undertaking. When a few months later women of the Alliance were able to meet together in Holland, they issued a call to a Congress at the Hague inviting women from both warring and neutral countries. Jane Addams accepted an invitation to attend and preside. From this meeting in 1915 emerged the organization later known as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, of which Jane Addams was president for the rest of her life.

One immediate result of the Congress was the formation of an International Committee for Permanent Peace. Its first task was to act on a resolution presented by Rosika Schwimmer which urged the calling of a conference of neutral nations to offer continuous mediation to the nations at war. The resolution was presented personally to fourteen European nations by two groups of envoys, one led by Jane Addams, the other by Rosika Schwimmer. This creative act is an important piece of history; the idea itself has never been allowed to die.

Although favorably considered by both warring and neutral nations in Europe, and although a conference was actually held in Stockholm, the resolution's effectiveness was nullified by the refusal of the President of the United States to assume leadership. In her searching analysis of President Woodrow Wilson's policies, Jane Addams wrote: "It seemed to us at moments as if the President were imprisoned in his own spacious intellectuality, and had forgotten the overwhelming value of the deed." True to her own insights, she questioned whether it was not his own limited experience which led him to put his trust in treaties "above his trust in the instincts of humble people, in whose hearts the desire for peace had at last taken sanctuary."

The visit to the warring countries of Europe brought to Jane Addams another experience of the horrors of war. In addition to calling on foreign ministers and heads of state, she visited soldiers in the hospitals, and gathered heartbreaking documented records of interviews with servicemen and nurses. She was convinced that it was the old men, set in old ways, who had brought on this war, "so irrevocable for the young" who were fighting bravely but often without conviction that the sacrifice was necessary.

Fortified with the truths of human experience, she returned to her own country. There she found herself misunderstood, and felt directly the distortion of truth and the deliberate stirring up of hatred which are the companions of war.

The record of those years, from 1915 to 1921, Jane Addams has left to us in *Peace and Bread*, a legacy of her mind and spirit which is impossible to convey second hand. It is of value to our day, however, to recall the principles and convictions which guided her during those dark years.

Despite suspicion and sometimes ostracism, one service she was free to perform, and she threw herself into it —the feeding of a hungry world. Her knowledge of what starvation meant as she had seen it in Europe, in the drawn faces and claw-like hands of her friends and in the distorted bodies of little children, was an overpowering impulse for action.

International morality, Jane Addams was convinced, must be incorporated into an international organization. She believed social and political organizations necessary, for she was not of those prophets or geniuses who scorn organized effort. Her peace activities therefore included arousing and organizing public opinion for a League of Nations founded upon the realities of the world's needs.

Jane Addams worked with a variety of movements to achieve such a League, but primarily with the organization set up at the Hague Congress, known since 1919 as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. Meeting in Zurich at the time of the Peace Conference at Versailles, the women urged a peace and a League, based not upon vengeance, but upon the principles advocated at the Hague to which Jane Addams had given such eloquent expression.

Jane Addams knew in her own country victims of war whose civil rights she assiduously defended. There were conscientious objectors among her friends. There were the men from Hull House whom she had encouraged to become citizens, but whom she was now powerless to help, while they were conscripted into the army of the United States as their fathers had been conscripted into the armies of the "old country." "At moments," she wrote, "there seems to be no spot upon which to rest one's mind with a sense of well-being."

It was with profound sadness that Jane Addams found herself gradually separated from the great majority of her friends, who supported the war in the belief that out of it good would come. She was never a victim of that illusion.

Her faith as a lonely pacifist was buttressed by her belief that war is not a natural activity; she believed profoundly "that it is a natural tendency of men to come into friendly relationships with ever larger and larger groups, and to live constantly a more extended life. . . . The endless desire of men would at last assert itself, that desire which torments them almost like an unappeased thirst, not to be kept apart but to come to terms with another." Nevertheless she developed a "hideous sensitiveness," and was assailed by misgivings and doubts, suffering intensely from the pain of being outside the mainstream of human effort.

She found comfort and strength in her associations with small groups of like-minded people—the newly formed Fellowship of Reconciliation, the American Friends Service Committee, and the peace organization to which she was giving leadership. She comforted herself with the realization that "as all other forms of growth begin with a variation from the mass, so the moral changes in human affairs may also begin with a differing group or individual, sometimes the one who at best is designated as a crank or a freak and in sterner mo-

ments is imprisoned as an atheist or a traitor."

The poignant record of her inward struggle, in the chapter in *Peace and Bread* entitled "Personal Reactions During War," is a reminder of the cost of pacifism, and is of special value to those not easily given to absolutes and who, uneasy in extreme positions, find their pacifist faith "so hard to hold, so easy to lose." To such Jane Addams is indeed a witness and an example.

Before the end of her life, Jane Addams again found herself in the mainstream of human affairs, and was admired and loved as have been few leaders in this country. The great dinner in Washington in May, 1935, celebrating the twentieth anniversary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, brought her the tribute of a grateful world. A few weeks later she died.

To Hull House, which to her was always home, she remains a symbol of the compassion and understanding which can lift a neighborhood to noble tasks. To her comrades and successors in the peace movement she bequeathed faith that compassion and understanding can ennoble international life. Above all, she left to the entire world that most precious of gifts—witness to a great conviction. Underlying her work for the feeding of a starving world, for an international organization in which men's needs could be met and their longing for brotherhood expressed, for freedom of conscience, and the many other causes to which she devoted herself, was her loyalty to the conviction that war is wrong. In the dark days of her isolation as a pacifist in wartime, she had written: "It therefore came about that ability to hold out against mass suggestion, to honestly differ from the convictions and enthusiasms of one's best friends did in moments of crisis come to depend upon the categorical belief that a man's allegiance is to his vision of the truth and that he is under obligation to affirm it."

To carry forward in our day Jane Addams' unfinished business of peace means, then, not only devotion to the concrete tasks which must go into its making, but also loyalty to that same firmly held conviction that war and the methods of war must be repudiated and risks taken for the methods of peace.

FARM WAGES & FOOD PRICES

by MARY K. FARINHOLT

THE WAGE NEGOTIATIONS of big industry continually remind the consumer of his own stake in industrial wages. But he is rarely reminded of wages on the farm. What is the consumer's stake in the pay of the worker who cultivates and harvests food? This year, the shopper who puts into his market cart sugar, potatoes, orange juice, strawberries, tomatoes, and corn may have a new impulse to question his relation to the farm "hand." There is now an energetic effort in Washington to raise farm workers' earnings by enacting a federal minimum wage for agriculture. Would retail food prices rise if a "floor" were put under farm wages?

Agricultural labor has been a political issue since the 1930's when the farm worker was excluded from all the protective legislation making conditions less risky and more humane for the industrial worker. The political forces that have joined previously to improve the lot of the farm workers are joined again: liberals in Congress, liberal organizations, government and private investigations. All these forces are aligning in a wedge to push through Congress a farm minimum wage guarantee. Now, however, the wedge has a new edge: Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who is an outspoken supporter of a wage floor for agricultural workers.

Speaking before a conference of farm employers and government officials, Mitchell said of farm workers:

> "During the last ten years their economic status has been getting progressively worse. . . . They are deprived even of the 'automatic' action of a free labor market, in which a labor shortage tends to bring its own correction . . . Such 'automatic' correction is foreclosed where foreign labor is provided in sufficient supply at whatever wage level *already* prevails, thus discouraging wages from rising. . . . I am convinced that agricultural workers must be given the protection of minimum wage and maximum hour legislation."

The conditions of the most depressed farm workers have been described fully by Secretary Mitchell and others: hourly wage rates as low as 40 cents an hour for a brief workyear; housing like that of farm animals; unavailability of health services, schooling, and voting to migrant families; transportation of migrant families in overcrowded trucks for as long as twenty hours at a stretch; prevalence of child labor under 14; lack of compensation for injury or unemployment.

Who are the more than two million farm workers? Are they like the "Okies" of *The Grapes of Wrath*? or like Jim at grandma's farm? Are they the Mexicans who sometimes make the news as illegal "wetbacks" or as legal "braceros"?

Less than one-third of the farm worker population is *regular*, like stable resident Jim, spending six months or more in steady employment with one farm employer. The rest are seasonal, hired mostly for the harvest season only. Of the seasonal workers, some are local resi-

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dents working for extra income; some are American migrants who follow the crops up and down the land; and about half a million are foreign workers, mostly from Mexico and the British West Indies. More than half of farm wage workers labor in the South. Texas and California, in 1954, accounted for 28 per cent of farm wage payments. Half the farm workers are hired for field crops, chiefly cotton. In food production, the main demands for labor are for orchard thinning; fruit, nut and berry picking; and livestock care.

Some of the "regulars" (non-seasonal farm workers) are employed on farms where there is but a single hired man. But more than 55,000 farms hire ten or more workers during the year—the huge corporate farms hiring scores or even hundreds. More than 75 per cent of the workers are employed by 6.8 per cent of the farms. Farms having a gross yearly income of $25,000 or more constitute only four per cent of commercial farms but they spend 50 per cent of the total U.S. farm wage bill.

Farm wages have startling variations: from about 40 cents an hour in parts of the Southeast, to $1.22 in Washington state. Foreign workers are now a normal part of the farm labor supply, acting as a depressant on efforts to improve local farm wages and conditions. Attempts to unionize farm workers have failed repeatedly and union organization as it now exists is not a practical influence on national farm labor wages.

Farm wages lack the growth capacity of industrial wages partly because the farm labor market is essentially and chronically oversupplied. There is always the threatening ghostly surplus of foreign workers the U.S. em-

ployment service will admit to prevent crop loss if domestic workers do not flock around at prevailing wages. The narrowly seasonal demands of farmer-employers—for a single harvest, or a short series of harvests, or a short round of cultivating and thinning and harvest—result in a *year-long* oversupply of farm labor. Growers need a waiting labor supply to prevent crop loss; much of the domestic labor called for in harvest time remains unused surplus the rest of the year.

What influence do farm labor wages have on consumer food prices? The first step toward reckoning the effect of farm wages on your own "market basket"—in the nostalgic language of the Department of Agriculture—is to measure the margin between prices paid to farmers and the retail price you pay for the same product. This is the much-debated farm-retail "spread." The spread covers all charges for processing and distributing farm products.

These marketing costs move quite independently of farm prices. For example, from 1951 to 1956 food marketing costs increased despite declining farm prices. Marketing costs—for wages and profits, taxes, freight rates, utilities, packaging materials—have been increasing since 1945, as have the volume and services of marketing business. The spread between farm and retail prices has been widening, and the farmer's share in the consumer dollar has declined. In 1957, farmers received 40 cents of every consumer dollar spent for food. Of their receipts, farmers paid 9.6 per cent in wages. That is, less than four per cent of consumers' food expenses went for farm labor. If the farm wage level should rise, even if farmers were able to pass the increase straight along, the consumer would scarcely feel its effects upon his budget. If wage costs rose 25 per cent, for example, retail prices would be pushed up a mere one per cent.

American agriculture is diverse. What you spend on farm labor depends to a great extent on which foods you buy, because the price spread and the portion paid for farm wages differ for each commodity. The Department of Agriculture estimates that 70 per cent of the retail price for eggs (which require practically no processing) goes to the farmer, but only 15 per cent of the retail price of corn flakes, with most other farm products yielding something between these figures to the farmer.

Fruit and vegetable growers generally have heavy labor costs but retain a relatively small share of the consumer price. On the other hand, in eggs and beef the farmer's share of the retail price is relatively large, but his cost of labor is lighter. Only where the farmer's share of the consumer dollar and his labor cost are *both* great, might a new minimum wage noticeably increase the consumer price for that product to meet the higher expense for farm labor.

If the minimum farm wage level were forced up, *could* this cost be passed along to the consumer? Growers of certain commodities in cer-

tain areas are in a stronger position than most to influence their market. In 1955-56, 64 per cent of Florida oranges for concentrating were acquired from growers' co-ops, profit-sharing growers, or processor-owned groves. The typical sugar cane processor is also a grower. However, despite inventive variations on the simple farmer-processor deal, farmers generally have little hope of influencing their final market. If most of them could not respond to higher farm wages by making the consumer pay, how would they react?

Industry's reaction when Congress raised the industrial minimum wage to $1 per hour in 1955 may throw some light on this question. Conditions were not ripe—as in some earlier years—to raise consumer prices automatically as a blotter for cost increases. With the new minimum, wholesale prices for products of low-wage industries did not rise any more than average prices for other products, and effects on the whole economy were too small to be discerned. However, some of the affected plants made important changes in business operations: new machinery, re-arranged plant layout, reduction of overtime, changes in product.

In agriculture, economists have noticed that farm wage rates have increased more than 300 per cent since the beginning of World War II, while prices of farm machinery have increased about 50 per cent. During that time, there has been a sharp acceleration in the substitution of farm machinery for farm labor. Like some low-wage plants hit by a new minimum wage law, low-wage agriculture would probably respond with intensified mechanization and

other means of increasing an already leap-frogging productivity.

Seabrook Farms Company—growers and processors of frozen foods—must live with a kind of "minimum wage," a wage set by collective bargaining. Seabrook is a notable exception to the lack of union organization of farm labor. All its workers are union members and all its farm workers receive $1 an hour or more. According to a company spokesman:

> "In the last five years, our farm wage rates have gone up by more than 35 per cent. . . . Our selling prices have gone down by 15 per cent. . . . Obviously we did it through mechanization, through increases in efficiencies, through getting better workers who were more productive. A lot of pen-pushers in the office who kept books and did the billing have been replaced by a few technicians running IBM machines. A lot of pea pickers sweating and straining have been replaced by a few skilled mechanics running combine harvesters."

Sugar production, which has a peculiar status in American agriculture, has always relied heavily upon foreign contract labor. Workers in sugar fields are subject to a minimum wage determined by the Secretary of Agriculture. Our sugar comes from sugar cane and sugar beets grown domestically (including Puerto Rico and Hawaii), and from Cuba and the Philippines abroad. Balancing the supply and demand is entirely in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture. He decides the amount needed for home consumption and allots quotas suitable to fill the need, right down to the individual domestic farm and the individual importer. It is the Secretary's quotas which finally determine the price of sugar. Subsidies are paid to growers for staying within their production allotment. In return for their protected status, sugar growers have been required to share some of their benefits by accepting a government floor under sugar workers' wages.

Sugar growers have had a minimum wage since 1937, although the actual rate is set anew each year and minimum wage standards are not uniform in all sugar areas. How have the growers reacted? Despite an unusually strong influence on market price, and a better share of the consumer price than growers of most commodities enjoy, the trend among sugar growers has been toward more mechanized equipment, larger acreages, higher yields per acre. In 1944, 25 per cent of sugar beet acreage was harvested by machine; by 1954, about 84 per cent. For sugar cane in Louisiana, man hours per acre declined from 180 in 1938 to 120 in 1952, and have continued to go down. In Hawaii, where workers are in short supply and wage rates are far higher, mechanization in cane production is much farther advanced than anywhere else, and Hawaii has the highest yield per acre of any sugar cane area. In 1957, the average prevailing wage per day in Puerto Rico was $3.54; in Louisiana, $5.95; in Florida, $8.27; in Hawaii, $11.82.

No one can tell the exact dollar impact of a 75 cent or $1 per hour minimum wage in agriculture. Secretary Mitchell apparently thought it might boost food prices when he said:

> "In this country we do not choose to keep down our bills, including our food bills, at the cost of overworking and underpaying human beings. We choose instead to pay the price necessary to support an adequate wage."

The American Farm Bureau Federation opposes a farm minimum wage because, it claims, agricultural labor is a residual labor supply, including many too incompetent to command an industrial rate of pay; a minimum wage would price these pathetic hangers-on of industrial society out of their last labor market. This conforms to the general view that a minimum wage would, by increasing mechanization, decrease the numbers in the farm labor force. Those concerned with helping the farm worker are not discomfited by this opinion, since they believe oversupply has been the great bane of farm labor. Said John Seabrook of the unionized Seabrook Farms:

> "The sort of thing that would happen is this: The price of green beans is about six cents a pound. It costs three cents a pound to pick them. . . . So suppose we double the agricultural rate and it now costs six cents to pick beans, so beans have got to sell for nine cents. And as soon as beans sell for nine cents, a few farmers are going to go to a farm machinery company . . . who have developed a machine—it costs about $15,000—to pick beans. And it can pick beans—counting amortizing the cost—for about 3.25 cents. So those fellows are going to start selling beans then for 6.25 cents, and pretty soon the price of beans is going to be back down. . . . because a mechanic is going to run this machine. But the consumer hasn't been hurt and the fellow who is working on the farm, instead of a picker averaging 50 cents to 60 cents an hour, is now a mechanic averaging $2.50 an hour. And with some readjustment, society is considerably better off."

No one expects an upward movement in the farm wage to ripple out to the consumer with any noticeable splash. Clearly the need is great for affirmative action soon on a federal farm minimum wage.

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the VILLAIN in education

by DOROTHY SAMUEL

Of the many fine articles I have read recently concerning our American educational dilemma, not one has touched upon the real villain in the drama. Curriculum, teacher candidates, teacher qualifications, school size, plant facilities—important as these all are, we could perfect each of them and still fail to see any substantial improvement in the quality of education received by the majority of our students. The real villain is known only to those actually in the schools; usually they won't tell.

This villain in the education of American youth is that little technique known as the "curve." Although applied in a thousand different ways by individual school systems and individual teachers, the curve is a flexible device with just one aim: to guarantee passing grades to all but the two or three most nearly moronic students taking any given academic subject. Individual teachers use it because "I couldn't flunk 25 per cent of the class." School administrators re-use it to change even those poor grades the teachers do give because "we have to put those students somewhere and get them through." The position of the schools is understandable; America says they must educate *all* youth through high school regardless of academic intelligence. Yet every time a curve is used to pass very poor students, every student above them must be upgraded accordingly.

As long as students are graded not on the basis of their comprehension but on their relative standing in a given class, the actual rate of accomplishment will continue to go down, down, down. Whatever their academic intelligence, American youth are astute and alert. Long before they leave elementary school, they have come to realize that they are in no danger of failing so long as there are a few really slow members in their class. The one or two at the very bottom of the ladder may actually receive failing grades. Those who are above this classification need take nothing too seriously. Those who happen to be in the upper tenth or quarter of ability ranking will receive A's and B's without turning a page of the textbook. Without trying, their natural quickness and intuition will enable them to outstrip most of the class. Since the majority of the members of any class must pass, they will automatically receive the highest grades whatever their actual achievement.

Today, students from different high schools, with the same credits on their diplomas, have degrees of mastery from 0 to 90 percent. An "A" in science may mean a potential Einstein; it may mean the son of a school board member; it may mean just a steady plugger who did his assignments with no insight. In extreme cases, it may mean someone who did nothing and learned nothing.

A teacher in the Midwest told me of the situation in the new position he took this year. He is a science teacher and a well qualified one. He found his biology students refused to study; they laughed when he told them they would be graded according to what they achieved. After the first test, he was called in by the superintendent for "orientation" in the school's policy on curves. "This is the way we do it," the superintendent explained. "Take your highest grade; that is 'A.' Take the lowest grade, unless it is more than 15 per cent below all the rest. That is 'D—.' Then you proportion out the marks falling in between."

In this case, the highest grade had been seventy per cent and the lowest 35 per cent. That made no difference. This man assures me he has some very bright members in that class, capable of doing good work. Under this system, which they well understand, none of them is making the slightest effort.

Obviously, this is an extreme case. However, every teacher who has laid out a policy of strict grading has met with the instant response, "But you'll have to put the marks on a curve if none of us do well!" A few schools, and I am happy to say I have found one, will back up a teacher who is willing to risk her reputation and follow through. The risk is great because, in the six weeks it will take to make the students realize she is serious, she will turn out a staggering number of low marks for students who have a good scholastic standing in all other subjects. The obvious parent reaction is to assume there is something poor about the quality of instruction in that particular course.

Yet it can be done. And students respond. There is an instinctive respect for fair play in adolescents, and I have yet to have a high school student who did not admit, in time, that he appreciated being rigidly judged

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by what he actually did. Most students find school far less boring and tedious when they are required to bite into their studies and thus gain the satisfaction of doing a real job.

To leave the inculcation of a new respect for achievement to the hope that individual teachers and administrators will "buck the system" is to be unrealistic. This has been going on for years; not all school personnel like it. Yet too few have "bucked." We have reached the stage where a high school diploma means absolutely nothing but certification of hours put in. Colleges have inaugurated special courses in all basic fields to teach entrants the fundamentals they must have for college work. This must be done in hours taken from the regular college program so that, too, has become less demanding.

Is there a solution? I believe so. There is no way to pass a law making uniform, rigid grading compulsory. There is, however, a way to make such grading inevitable if schools are to maintain any rating with employers and colleges.

Were the states to recognize the differences in academic intelligence, they could require every high school to have at least two separate programs in order to qualify for accreditation and state aid. Teachers who now teach all levels in a single classroom are certainly qualified to teach all levels in separate classrooms. In schools of a hundred or more students, high school teachers already have two sections of most basic classes. At no increase of load or personnel, the present staffs could be enabled to tailor their method of presentation for the needs of college preparatory groups and the needs of non-college preparatory groups.

Once students were separated, the same basic material could be offered each group; non-college people are not inferior citizens suitable only for trade school subjects. With different requirements, each group could be graded on the basis of different standards. Yet each section would be honestly graded on accomplishment according to those standards. The diploma would show the program taken. It would be apparent that an "A" in one program did not mean the same depth of study as an "A" in the other program. A system of state examinations in addition to individual school requirements would insure that schools teach for an established degree of mastery in college preparatory programs.

There are those who fear that segregation of students by intellectual abilities will be undemocratic. This is, I believe, a false fear. Is it undemocratic to segregate students with exceptionally keen physical development into a varsity basketball team and have the others take a general physical training program? Has anyone ever suggested the military allow all men to enter and graduate from Officers' Training School?

The foundation stone of democracy is equality of *opportunity*. Our schools must be open to every individual of school age. Within the school system, every individual must be allowed freedom to take any offering for which he can qualify and which he is able to pass. To set up these requirements is no more undemocratic than to say every man may have an opportunity for any job for which he can qualify and which he can handle. There must be no arbitrary barriers. But it is no more sensible to insist upon a student taking a course he cannot master than to insist upon a machinist's *right* to the job of drawing magazine illustrations simply because he is a citizen. The machinist does not want such a job; he would be miserable in it. Just so, right now, many fine young people are miserable in classes where they cannot achieve however hard they may try.

It is time for us to be honest with ourselves and with our students. Numbers of students graduating, numbers enrolled in certain courses are meaningless in appraising our situation unless there is a definite standard for passing a course. We may enroll our entire school population in science courses under qualified instructors and be no better off than today if those instructors are under obligation to "get them through somehow." Whatever system we set up, however the nation handles this problem, there will be no over-all improvement in the quality of American education until we get rid of that wicked curve which distorts reality for the individual student, the local community, the college, the employer, and the nation.

last chance for the giant redwoods

by

WILLIAM A. BOYER

Tourists who have experienced the beauty of the giant redwoods on the northern coast of California had better return soon for a last look. Except in a few state preserves, the ancient and apparently immovable giants are challenged each day by the irresistible force of whining chain saws. Soon there will be souvenir photographs showing how the redwood forests looked before they were cut, and tourists can buy used chain saws as mementos commemorating man's economic triumph over natural beauty.

The cutting of old growth redwood is possibly the most serious and urgent conservation problem in the United States today. Logged-over fir and pine, or depleted salmon and trout, can be recovered with sufficient time and money. Substitutions could be made for exhausted mineral reserves. But old growth redwood is unique. Its present age of hundreds to thousands of years makes it a virtually irreplaceable natural resource, and no substitution can be made for its supreme beauty. For every tree that falls there will be one less for

present and future generations—and they are falling fast. Each day seemingly perpetual stands of huge trees are transformed to rubble. In many former groves only a few snags and spindly seed trees remain. The final scenes look like shelled beachheads of South Pacific islands after wartime invasions.

Redwood has been cut since early in the Nineteenth Century, but large scale cutting has developed only recently, since World War II. The United States Forest Service estimates that most privately owned redwood will be cut by 1980 at the present rate of cutting, and *93 per cent* of the old growth is in private hands. The increasing commercial use of redwood and the expanding population are likely to shorten this estimate; the biggest, most beautiful, and accessible trees are going first. The destiny of the forest is now in the unpredictable hands of the "market."

Most commercial interests are not anxious to deplete the supply of redwood, so they sponsor numerous "conservation" organizations and are developing tree farms, selective cutting and fire controls. Conservation is a word that has two different meanings in the redwood area; one is economic and the other aesthetic and recreational. Most redwood conservation groups are concerned primarily with economic conservation. Though they now cut about two and a half times as much as they grow, they hope to "conserve" the redwood by growing as much as they cut. Even though the commercial interests should achieve their present conservation goal, they would contribute nothing to the preservation of the old growth—quite the opposite. By cutting down the big trees they can achieve more "board feet" of growth per year with the smaller trees. The big trees grow more slowly and "pay off" only by being made into choice lumber, and so the commercial conservation programs have nothing to do with aesthetic and recreational goals; rather they constitute a threat to conservation for aesthetic and recreational purposes.

When small redwood trees have room to grow they are, contrary to popular opinion, one of the fastest growing evergreens. So from a commercial point of view the big trees should be cut to permit the smaller ones to get more light and room and thus grow faster. Young trees that spring from cutover areas have a beauty of their own, similar to young evergreens anywhere. But it takes from 500 to thousands of years to create the kind of "old growth" trees that now exist. They are the culmination of a long struggle for survival in which they have crowded out the underbrush and the weaker redwoods until the few giant trees remaining stand like retired sentinels, the battle won, dominating the forest. They have no natural span of life, and if they are not cut or burned are believed to live "forever."

Public forest acquisition occurs occasionally, sometimes through state funds but often through donations made to the Save The Redwoods League, best known of the groups concerned with the preservation of the old growth trees. It may be that the few parks that now exist and the roadside groves sometimes left by timber companies for public relations purposes have primarily a soporific effect on the public. A normal American in a hurry is likely to experience some of the effect of a forest even without one. He may fail to notice that the redwood forest he thinks he is driving through is not really a forest at all but may be little more than a Hollywood facade, for the trees often extend only a few hundred feet on each side of the road and are cut out in back. He may wonder briefly where all the lumber trucks are getting their trees, but he is more likely to be concerned with their clogging the highway than with their social implications. Meanwhile, in nearby forests often more vast and more magnificent than any he has seen, the chain saws are leaving stumps and a tangle of slash and debris where majestic trees have stood for many hundreds of years.

Those who have never seen the giant redwoods find them hard to imagine. Huge trees, often soaring 300 feet or higher, reach diameters up to 25 feet at the base. The floor of the forest consists primarily of ferns and clover-like oxalis, forming a cool, silent, seemingly eternal and unchanging world. Years ago, when Theodore Roosevelt first saw these ancient trees he expressed his horror at the idea of converting them to shingles and pointed out that "there is nothing more practical in the end than the preservation of beauty, than the preservation of anything that appeals to the higher emotions in mankind." It seems that man can easily use his technology to exploit natural beauty, but it is difficult for him to do the one thing that is most necessary—to preserve the beauty that is already given to him.

Residents of the redwood country are unlikely to preserve the old trees. Their current economy and politics are too interwoven with the lumber industries. Rationalizations, misinformation, and short-sighted economic interests prevent the economic and larger social implications of current logging practices from becoming public issues. More of a recreational economy would be likely to prevent some of the instability of the dominantly one-industry economy, which has always been a victim of fluctuations in the lumber market and has never provided much wealth to the area.

Unless the state of California converts more groves into state parks or federal funds are appropriated to form another national park, most of the giant California redwoods will soon be gone. None of the coastal redwood is in national parks and less than one per cent is in national forests, yet its preservation is unquestionably a matter of *national* interest. If *all* the old growth acreage were converted into park, the area would still be less than half the size of New York's Adirondack Park. Redwood logging would still continue but would be restricted primarily to young trees and tree farms, which would be the source of redwood lumber anyway, if the big trees were cut.

Few people would permit the present destruction to continue if they were aware that our own and future generations could be forever deprived of some of the world's greatest natural beauty. If these old forests continue to be cut into lumber, it will be a national tragedy in the United States comparable to India's grinding up the Taj Mahal for paving material. If we fail to act, or decide now that money is more important than beauty, we will find later that the beauty we have sold can no longer be bought for any price.

not so Hollywood's Hidden Persuaders

by EDMUND P. MURRAY

BEFORE THE screen credits are shown in the recent Frank Capra film, *A Hole in the Head,* the audience is treated to two technicolor commercials. One is for the Fountainebleu Hotel; the other, for Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. They prove to be only the opening shots in a concerted barrage of advertising.

During the film's two-hour running time, some twenty-five firms and products are praised, mentioned, or shown. Several of the commercials are verbal, most are visual, and many are both. The more effective reflect the soft sell, and even the most blatant are woven into the script with great care. While such concern with commercials is routine in television, it represents something of a departure in a major Hollywood movie.

The initial plug is subtle. The stars of the picture are shown at the edge of a luxurious pool. Suddenly a porpoise leaps out of the water with breathtaking propulsion and takes a fish from the hand of a man standing at the edge of a high diving board. On the sturdy tower which supports the diving board the name of the Fountainebleu Hotel is inscribed in giant gold letters. Movie viewers see the sign for only a split second. But, as the motivational researchers have established, visual impressions flashed on a screen for even tinier slivers of a second have a decided effect.

Two years ago the possibilities of using such flash impressions as an advertising technique touched off a brief but apparently effective torrent of criticism. The outburst followed a showing before press representatives of a film called *Secrets of the Reef.* During the showing of the film the words "Coca-Cola" were flashed on the screen at five-second intervals for one three-thousandths of a second. James M. Vicary, whose market research firm set up the demonstration, explained that while the repeated Coca-Cola plugs could not be grasped by the conscious mind, they did have an effect on the subconscious through a process identified as "subliminal perception." He said an experiment at a theater in New Jersey indicated popcorn sales went up 57.5 per cent and Coca-Cola sales increased 18.1 per cent when subliminal ads for these products were flashed on the screen.

The demonstration cued expressions of both grave misgivings about the dangers of subliminal devices as tools for thought control and serious doubt about their actual effectiveness as an advertising technique. Vicary blames the "irrational press reaction" for the failure of subliminal advertising to get off the ground. A New Orleans firm has done some business using subliminal techniques to heighten the fright content of horror movies. At present, however, the subliminal approach appears to have no market among advertisers.

But *A Hole in the Head,* which last summer was the third most heavily attended film throughout the country, treats audiences to something new: advertising that might be called "less than subliminal" and still be considered more than questionable.

Possibly the closest approach to the truly subliminal comes in the use of a soft drink vending machine on the porch of the hotel owned by the film's leading character. The first time it is shown, viewers can see the message, "Enjoy a Pepsi-Cola," imprinted in pale letters on the side of the machine. In later scenes in which the machine is shown from the same angle, the Pepsi-Cola legend is not visible, but presumably it is there strongly enough to be making its subliminal impression. In a somewhat different manner, machines in the hotel lobby give Wrigley gum and various cigarette brands repeated exposure.

The use of advertising signs is most flagrant in the many scenes played around the registration desk of the hotel. Always in view in these scenes are three signs touting various American Express services and one each for Eastern Airlines, Wilmark detective service, Avis car rental, Beneficial Finance Company, Bufferin, and an assortment of Miami Beach tours.

In one scene, Frank Sinatra, top star and co-producer of the film, enters the hotel room of Carolyn Jones, who is cast as his mistress. She is seated on the bed. He sits near her. Between them is a small cardboard box. After a moment of desultory dialogue, Sinatra picks up the box and carefully holds it so the audience gets a good view.

Sharp-eyed movie goers will see that it is a box of Sun Maid raisins. Even the myopic will have their subconscious awareness jogged by the distinctive red box and yellow circle. Still holding the box in the manner of a practiced television pitchman, Sinatra takes a raisin for himself and gives one to his comely companion. The buildup, which has no connection with either the major point or the minor poignancy of the scene, is so cunningly contrived that it comes as something of a letdown that there is no dialogue about the virility building powers of raisins.

Typical of the verbal commercials is the scene in which Sinatra explains the importance of the Cadillac as a status symbol: "If I jump in my Cadillac and drive down to see him . . . he says, 'Sit down and let's talk about it.' . . . If I go by jitney bus . . . he says, 'Scram.' "

Other frequent mentions and showings of Cadillacs are reinforced by a shot of a neon sign at a Cadillac agency, flashing on and off in screaming blue. A wide variety of other firms and products are plugged, including two airlines, a lighter fluid, several women's apparel and accessory firms, a taxi company, and a dog track in Miami, plus nearly a dozen Miami Beach hotels, motels, night

clubs, and cafeterias. Despite all this competition, the Fountainebleu easily garners top honors as the most heavily advertised enterprise. The hotel is mentioned or shown at least two dozen times.

During the recent Congressional investigation of television quiz shows, a department store owner disclosed he had paid $10,000 to get an employe on one of the programs as a contestant. The owner testified that the "free" mentions his store received as a result of the employe's appearance were worth every cent of the $10,000 he paid for them. His testimony gives some measure of the potential value of the avalanche of advertising that engulfs *A Hole in the Head.*

In a similar vein, Adolphe Wenland, a Hollywood promotion agent, recently told an interviewer that payoffs to television writers who introduce advertising plugs into their scripts range from a case of liquor to $500.

Though the extent to which *A Hole in the Head* is turned over to advertising is exceptional, it is by no means an isolated phenomenon. A sign advertising a brand name whisky is prominent in several scenes in *Anatomy of a Murder.* The recent *Edge of Eternity* is devoted in large measure to showcasing several vehicles manufactured by Ford Motor Company. There is a full-length commercial for Exquisite Form bras in *Happy Anniversary,* and the manufacturer of the bra is, in turn, plugging the picture in his advertising copy.

Tie-ins of this type, in which a manufacturer gives advertising to a film in which one of his products is displayed, are becoming common. The New York *Times* recently reported that *Strangers When We Met,* a film now being produced, will plug a houseful of items on a tie-in basis with the various manufacturers.

While it might be naive to assume that plugs are never sold, it would be unfair to advertisers and media which accept the practice to assume that every such instance results from a payoff. There are several reasons for allowing what the trade calls a "cuffo commercial." Maurice Segal, publicity coordinator for United Artists, contends that conventions of characterization, authenticity, and courtesy extended to an establishment that permits a film to be shot partly on its premises justify the plugs which appear in *A Hole in the Head.*

But no matter what prompted the plethora of plugs in the Sinatra movie, the barrage adds up to a pain in the neck for movie goers. The overt commercials are an imposition and a distraction. The more subtle ones, such as the "Enjoy a Pepsi-Cola" sign, raise the same questions of ethics as were stirred up over subliminal advertising.

A comparison of the advertising in *A Hole in the Head* with that of a television drama illuminates the problem. When the TV commercial comes on, the viewer, however committed he is to seeing the play, remains a free agent. He can leave the room, or turn the set down, or watch the commercial. The viewer of *A Hole in the Head* has no such choice. If he wants to see the film, he has no protection against being conditioned favorably toward various commercial products without his consent and even without his knowledge. To add injury to the insult he must, unlike the television viewer, pay an admission price for the privilege of joining a captive audience for commercials.

While the more blatant plugs in *A Hole in the Head* might arouse resentment and resistance, the only slightly less than subliminal commercials would seem quite effective. They appeal not just to the subconscious, as subliminal advertisements do, but also to the periphery of conscious attention. And they do so under highly favorable conditions. These appeals to our "peripheral perception" are received under the spell created by a reasonably entertaining and lavishly mounted motion picture. The context often conveys the explicit, or at least the implicit, endorsement of the popular and attractive people who star in the film.

As Vicary has said of subliminal advertising, "The magic is that we can put in a very mild form of advertising at the very peak of attention, the big moments of a movie or television play." Less than subliminal advertising partakes of the same magic and perhaps achieves greater potency. And, if favorable attitudes toward a product can be so insinuated, why not political indoctrination or unfavorable attitudes toward a competitor's products?

By all accounts the advertising industry has answered the ethical questions raised in subliminal advertising by turning thumbs down on the idea. Hollywood may find itself confronted by similar problems because of the torrent of less than subliminal advertising let loose through *A Hole in the Head.*

Two Stevenson Reprints

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Shannon on Nixon

Dear Sirs:

"The [Half-] Truth About Nixon" is such a scurrilous screed, evidently written by a disappointed supporter of candidates Richard Nixon has defeated, that I am surprised a magazine I had thought tried to present unbiased articles would think of printing it.

I am no great admirer of Mr. Nixon and can think of others who would in my opinion make better Presidents, in both the Democratic and Republican ranks. I do, however, feel that a great injustice has been done him by the publication of this article.

My subscription to *The Progressive* is expiring and I do not wish to renew it.

CHESTER C. SMITH
Belmont, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

I have read with surprise and amazement the article by William V. Shannon, "The Truth About Nixon." While I am not a Republican, as a Californian I have followed his career with interest. It seems to me rather surprising that in any article purporting to tell the truth about our Vice President not a single statement commendatory of his career is mentioned. In this respect the article is entirely negative and its contents an insult to the intelligence of the great party which twice nominated him for the Vice Presidency and to the millions of patriotic Americans who voted for him.

I do not know the religion or politics of Mr. Shannon but the very nature of his article makes it somewhat obvious to me that he is both a Democrat and a Catholic who, in his desire to elect Mr. Kennedy or some other Catholic to the Presidency, has written a biased and prejudiced account of Richard Nixon because in Nixon he sees the greatest obstacle to the realization of this ambition.

H. B. SELLERS
Pacific Palisades, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

I am writing you to tell you that the article called "The Truth About Nixon" is a biased report evidently written by a Democrat.

If, as Mr. William V. Shannon says, Nixon is average in intelligence, why should he be Vice President right now? Also, how could he have expressed himself so well and held his temper in his famous debate with Khrushchev—or settled the steel strike.

I am a freshman in high school. I am not the only person in the school who dislikes this article. Many of us are very displeased, although we enjoy most of the articles in *The Progressive*.

KAREN KITZMAN
Bandera, Tex.

Dear Sirs:

Please cancel my subscription. If you wish to know why, you might read through the recent article about Vice President Richard Nixon and count up the derogatory adjectives which, added up over several pages, amount to smear politics. I'm a Democrat, but I don't agree that Mr. Nixon is the second-rater that you are trying to make him out to be and I can't believe that such all-out attacks upon everything he has said and done will damage him as much as you hope.

MARSHALL BARTHOLOMEW
Greenwich, Conn.

Dear Sirs:

Blessings on *The Progressive* for its courageous exposure of Vice President Nixon's record. We of California who were twice the victims of his smear campaigns—once against Jerry Voorhis and then against Helen Gahagan Douglas—hope the rest of the country catches up with this slippery customer by reading "The Truth About Nixon."

MRS. ALICE HENDERSON
Beverly Hills, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

As one who has had several unusual opportunities to observe Vice President Nixon at rather close range, I would like to tell you how much I appreciate William V. Shannon's "The Truth About Nixon." The official record provides abundant evidence to confirm the author's conclusion that Nixon is a reactionary in domestic affairs and is "evasive, opportunist, and self-contradictory in foreign affairs." In California, where we know him best, he is doing rather poorly in the polls, and I am confident he will do even less well when that day of reckoning comes in November.

E. A. LOVE
Pasadena, Calif.

Dear Sirs:

"The Truth About Nixon" is the article we have all been waiting for. It goes to the heart of the man—and his mind too—and provides us with the background and information we need to judge his qualifications for the Presidency. The fact that emerged most clearly to me was the basic lack of principle and conviction in a man who aspires to lead our country in a time of great crisis.

JULIA DOBBS
Chevy Chase, Md.

Dear Sirs:

William V. Shannon's "The Truth About Nixon," in your March issue, was a great climax to a brilliant series of articles on the prospective Presidential candidates. *The Progressive* is to be congratulated for providing this invaluable public service, and Mr. Shannon deserves our deepest thanks for his penetrating analysis of Vice President Nixon.

E. A. BRAND
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Sirs:

For much too long liberals have been content to denounce Richard Nixon without citing the record. Your March issue article, "The Truth About Nixon," is therefore all the more valuable, and in keeping with the highest traditions of *The Progressive*, for it emphasizes his actual performance in the fields of domestic and foreign policies.

It seems to me from a reading of the record, in agriculture, labor, social security, civil rights, housing, and education, that Nixon has forfeited the right to expect support from independent voters. His behavior in the critical situation involving war in Indo-China some years ago, as Mr. Shannon emphasizes in quoting the record, surely disqualifies him to lead the United States in a world conflict that is so tense and perilous.

I hope "The Truth About Nixon" will be widely circulated. It provides the kind of factual information and thoughtful interpretation the people need in these troubled and confusing times.

JOHN S. GOMILLION
Evanston, Ill.

The Hungarian Revolution

Dear Sirs:

I was greatly disappointed in Milton Mayer's article, "Who Fights for Freedom?," which appeared in your March issue. The Hungarian revolution was a fight for independence. All we wanted was freedom—freedom of speech, freedom of elections, and freedom of the press. These were guaranteed in our constitution, but they were not observed in practice.

Under the regime against which we rebelled our youth was trained to hate the principles so dear to us, our patriots were imprisoned in concentration camps, and people were disappearing from day to day.

Our protest resulted in the 1956 revolution—the fight of a small, helpless nation against a powerful giant, a fight of bare fists and a few guns against an army of thousands of well-equipped soldiers with their tanks and aircraft.

I know that the American people do not feel as Mr. Mayer does; else they would not have been so generous, kind, and understanding. It is only people like Mr. Mayer who looked for the negative side and found it. He must have had a hard time digging it up.

IRENE HALASZ
Philadelphia, Pa.

Opposes Any Catholic

Dear Sirs:

It is good to see *The Progressive* so impartial on the Presidential candidates. After all, it's been Tweedledee and Tweedledum since 1940.

While I have voted for John Kennedy for the Senate, I do not think I will vote in the future for a Roman Catholic, or anyone of a religion that is against efficient birth con-

trol, for any office. In face of the horrible, dangerous prospect of populations such as India and China have and Japan did have, we need every means of birth control possible *and a drastic revision of our abortion laws.*

It irks me to see the bourgeois *Reader's Digest* print an article on this last crying need while our so-called progressive, liberal, radical publications never mention it. Then too, the little band of people trying to bring this population explosion to the attention of our lazy, stupid masses does not contain the names of the great "liberals" and radicals, but rather people like General Robert E. Wood of Sears, Roebuck.

YONE U. STAFFORD
W. Springfield, Mass.

Democrats Need Stevenson

Dear Sirs:

I don't want Richard Nixon for President. His whole record condemns him as devious, irresponsible, and cold, an ambitious opportunist.

However, we are going to get "Trickie Dickie" unless the Democrats wake up pretty quickly. More than a year of Democratic stalling has badly blurred the image of that party. Voters are already asking, "What have *they* got to offer?"

One significant example is the reaction to the President's recent proposal to expand the "nuclear club." That could only be a Pentagon project. Well-informed people, both here and abroad, know it would be sheer madness, ending all hope for nuclear disarmament. Nor has Congress yet been allowed to debate the plan. Does the Senate ring with Democratic protests? Does the party's advisory council come out for a sane foreign policy based on disarmament by mutual concession?

No, Democrats only complain of inadequate spending for "defense." In the vital issue of human survival they present no constructive ideas, but seem content to drift over the dam with Ike.

The Democrats can't win the election with that sort of negative apathy. To win, the party must speak up on big issues. It must be, as Woodrow Wilson declared, "The party with a heart under its jacket." It must challenge the Republican claim to be the party of peace, by showing that our peace is on shaky foundations. It must stop appeasing the Dixiecrats—if it wants the big independent vote which decides our national elections. Nobody trusts a two-headed donkey!

Four years ago Stevenson came out for stopping nuclear tests—and Nixon ridiculed the idea. Let's not let *Nixon* forget it. Now that Ike is on the way out, Adlai may be the man to restore the people's faith in the kind of leadership which is brave, sincere, and humane. He is loved by millions of Americans. He stands for something essentially democratic in its lack of dependence on the monied interests which fill the Republican coffers. To beat Nixon, the Democrats will have to show up with a real man and a fearless platform.

JOHN D. WHITING
New Haven, Conn.

Dear Sirs:

The time is fast approaching when the Democratic Party will choose a Presidential candidate. The proverbial plea for more interest, less apathy on the part of the voters has never been more poignant. Today we need more than a Presidential figurehead; we need Presidential leadership. A President can take a stand only when he has solid ground beneath him. In scanning the political horizon, there appears only one man who is more concerned with standing for principles than running for office: Adlai E. Stevenson.

Readers of *The Progressive* will recall two articles written by Stevenson last year, both of which attest amply to the stature of this man. It is indeed refreshing to find some one such as Stevenson who is more interested in conveying a vital message than in hearing the sound of his platitudinous voice.

Some will flippantly remark that he has lost twice in this contest and is thereby excluded from the race. But are we so foolish as to let statistical probability rob us of the finest leadership available? The real question is: How badly do the American people want the best?

JUDITH LAWS
St. Louis, Mo.

Our Rich Farmers

Dear Sirs:

Any normal person reading *The Progressive* would think the American farmer is starving. This is not the truth. American farmers, as a whole, constitute about the richest group in the United States. What other group is so heavily supported by the government? What other group is paid not to produce? Despite all this, farmers cry more than any other group in our society.

E. A. BAYLESS
Albany, Ore.

The South's Real Leaders

Dear Sirs:

I must take exception to only one aspect of your generally correct editorial on "The Struggle for Civil Rights" in the April issue. When you deplore "the lack of creative white leadership in the South," you defined by inference the leading elected segregationists as though they were the only leaders who count in this struggle.

I have just returned from an examination of the progress being made in five North Carolina cities in the sit-in and picketing demonstrations. I came back with a very encouraging impression of the renewal of courage and vigor on the part of many Southern whites who are dedicated to human dignity and equality of opportunity. Their work is usually quiet, full of sound judgment based on vastly more experience than most of us Northern liberals have, and well calculated to develop the increasing support of their local politicians, police chiefs, newspaper editors, university administrators, clergymen, and central area businessmen, all of whom are doing their race-relations homework with diligence, and most of whom are opening their minds to the reasonable requests of the patient and hard-working members of many human relations committee members.

This work goes, for the most part, unpublicized in the shadow of the newspaper reports of occasional violence and usually false bomb-threats. But while the Longs and Eastlands and other bigoted demagogues fume and sputter their desperate cries of disappointment, the areas of willing transition are spreading.

Who are the real leaders? I say the Negro and white students and their parents in this spreading Southern-style liberal movement, for their work sets the pace for adjustment toward equality. And they need no advice, no generalizing criticism from us, for we have our own serious race problems, particularly in housing segregation, to struggle over. All the South and the North need from each other is a mutual encouragement and a constant comparing of notes about our progress.

JOHN R. KELLAM
Providence, R. I.

Wechsler and the Press

Dear Sirs:

I found much that was greatly disturbing in James A. Wechsler's article, "I See by the Papers," in your March issue. He has done a penetrating job in calling our attention to the inadequacies of our press, especially the lack of crusading journalism at a time we need it so badly. But I would not accept the author's conclusion that perhaps a labor press is the answer. I have seen too many papers of that kind elsewhere in the world. Usually they were most unsatisfactory.

RAYMOND SOLLEN
Bronxville, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

James A. Wechsler's discussion of the press in your March issue was unusually good. He is so right when he notes that we have a press that is "far more forthright in combating tyranny in Hungary than in waging the fight for freedom in the United States."

Witness the editorial indignation over racism in South Africa and the relative silence on racism in our own country.

It is always easier, too, for a Northern paper to wax righteous over discrimination in the South, and yet have nothing to say about the discrimination practiced by local merchants—who are advertisers.

DAVID A. HALL
Minneapolis, Minn.

Creative Tensions

Dear Sirs:

I have just read "Is Everybody Happy?," by James Wechsler in the April *Progressive*, and while I agree with much that it contains, I feel it is important to register some amazement at the lack of historical and sociological perspective which it seems to show. Are the defects in the life of Suburbia really as significant as Wechsler leads us to believe? And are they anything new?

Undoubtedly city life produces its full share of ulcers: that is one reason why people move to the suburbs. If they find ulcer-producing situations there, they are no worse off than before they moved. I have little doubt that life on the Western frontier had its anxieties and frustrations, though they had little to do with crabgrass; and the same could be said for living in the

Massachusetts "Bible Commonwealth" in the 1700's or being a poor-white in the antebellum South.

Every age has its ulcers; are ours more prevalent or merely better diagnosed? Napoleon would probably have taken tranquillizers had they been avaialble, and perhaps the course of history would have been changed thereby.

My conclusion is that any advanced civilization produces frustrations and tensions of this sort, and many primitive ones as well. Whenever a society sets up ideals and goals, there will be many people who cannot achieve them, or who have to act in ways that are psychically contrary to their natures in order to achieve them. On the whole, one may regard these as creative tensions, for without them man would not achieve anything. One should quarrel with the goals that are set, not with the tensions created in trying to achieve them.

LOREN P. BETH
Professor of Government
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass.

Commends Byron Johnson

Dear Sirs:

I wish to thank you and commend Representative Byron L. Johnson for his article, "Toward a More Positive Peace Program," in the March issue of *The Progressive*. I believe I can say that I agree with every word of it and wish that all of our citizens, including our national leaders and policy makers, could also agree.

I wish we could have a President with ideas like Johnson's. I do not happen to know his age or experience, but on the basis of this article I would rather see him in that position than a current candidate with the same name.

JOHN G. BARROW
Austin, Tex.

Dear Sirs:

Thanks to Congressman Byron Johnson for "Toward a More Positive Peace Program" in your March issue. It is most understandable and convincing. It makes one wonder how hesitatingly blind, or just plain indifferent, can a so-called "enlightened people" be.

Each copy of *The Progressive* is eagerly awaited and greatly appreciated as a "whole kernel" amid so much "straw."

MRS. C. CHRISTENSON
Waco, Tex.

Seminar on Pacifism

Dear Sirs:

The American Friends Service Committee is planning a "Seminar on Pacifism" at the Putney Graduate School, Putney, Vermont, June 16 through July 28. It is hoped to have fifteen students who wish to undertake an exploration of pacifism. College students will be assisted in requesting credit from their particular colleges for the course. Teachers and others who have genuine interest are most welcome.

The director of the seminar will be Morris Mitchell, a Quaker and a leader in experimental education. Outstanding resource persons will be used. Trips will be made to various centers of interest, such as New York and Washington, D.C.

The total cost is $150 for room, board, tuition, and travel. Some scholarship funds are available. For further information write to Putney Graduate School, Amy Kanemitsu, Seminar on Pacifism, Putney, Vermont, or Timothy Plummer, American Friends Service Committee, Peace Caravan, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

TIMOTHY PLUMMER
American Friends Service Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

AFSC Conference

Dear Sirs:

The Middle Atlantic Region of the American Friends Service Committee will sponsor a conference for college students at Camp Fernbrook, near Pottstown, Pennsylvania, June 3 to 9. The resource staff will include Norman Whitney, AFSC national secretary for peace education; Ajai K. Mitra, first secretary and political adviser to the permanent mission of India to the United Nations; Jessie Bernard, professor of sociology at Pennsylvania State University; Wilson Head, director of the Windsor group therapy project, and William Worthy, foreign correspondent and author.

Details regarding costs and program are available from the undersigned.

ELIZABETH JALLIE
College Secretary
AFSC
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Progressive Dull

Dear Sirs:

We had hoped that our gift subscription to *The Progressive* was only for one year, and would have ended by now. If, by some misfortune, the subscription was for a longer period, will you please cancel it? Your magazine is one of the dullest, most ultra-conservative we have ever read.

MRS. JAMES D. COOPER
Haverford, Pa.

Progressive Challenging

Dear Sirs:

I am a newcomer to the excellent magazine you publish; but since my subscription to *The Progressive* began, I have had only praise for its contents.

What I admire about *The Progressive*, what I feel puts it way above so many liberal and progressive magazines, is that it does not deal in sarcasm; it does not take a flippant attitude toward any subject it covers; and it does not deal in trivia. *The Progressive* is like a fresh burst of air on what sometimes appears as a stale or stagnant situation. You tackle the problem, muster the facts, present them in understandable form, and challenge the reader in your presentation. This I like, for I want my mind to be stirred—not with sensationalism or sarcasm, but with well-presented information that can stand up under scrutiny.

I wish that all your readers would use that back cover order form to send *The Progressive* to new subscribers. I want to see your circulation increase, not only for the sake of the finances you need but also for the sake of the nation itself. Your magazine deserves attention. It is a source of enlightenment I turn to each month with a great deal of spirit.

ROBERT WAYNE
Merced, Calif.

Help for Italian School

Dear Sirs:

Last year in Italy I worked as a volunteer at the Villaggio Artigiano Scolastico, a remarkable vocational school founded fifteen years ago in the village of Signa by an elementary school teacher, Maestro Leopoldo Fantozzi. After the war, he gathered orphans and other poor boys in a basement in the afternoons and taught them mechanics, pottery making, and carpentry. Out of this small start an important development has taken place.

Today there are over four hundred students in his school, in twelve large brick workrooms, all built by one mason, the children, and their parents. Leather making and typesetting as well as academic subjects have been added to the curriculum. Half of the day is now spent on academic subjects and half in the chosen trade.

A little boy called "Mattone" (brick) has brought one brick every day for the last year and a half, along with plain bread for his lunch; the piece of sausage and cheese that he forgoes pays for the brick. Mattone is only one of the many boys who help the school in various ways and thus help to create its unique atmosphere of cooperation and friendliness.

Everyone helps; the peasants give grain and vegetables for the luncheon "minestrone;" the miller grinds the flour free. Potters of Signa give clay, and leather workers leather; once a year the students are asked to contribute what they can and sums of four cents and up are duly inscribed in the ledger.

One of the great needs is for books to supplement the small library of ancient paperbacks and to use as texts. Neither school nor pupils can afford to buy textbooks so the teachers waste much time dictating the essential facts. Reference books or colored illustrations of design are especially needed for the ceramics classes.

Except for picture books, the texts should be in Italian so money is the best donation that can be made to the school. Six hundred dollars would provide texts for the most important classes; thirty dollars will supply one class; and $1.25 will buy a textbook.

Maestro Fantozzi has faith that these and greater needs will be met. "We live by the mail from day to day," he says.

Donations of books or money can be sent direct to Maestro Leopoldo Fantozzi, Villaggio Artigiano Scolastico, Signa (Tuscany), Italy, or through me at 703 Texas Ave., Austin, Texas.

DORIS STANISLAWSKI
Austin, Texas

BOOKS

The State of Our Liberties

by DAVID FELLMAN

IT IS A RATHER paradoxical fact of history that while we Americans have always been deeply concerned with our civil liberties, especially in recurring periods of stress or crisis, the literature on the subject is not very impressive. Especially inadequate has been the scholarly writing dealing with civil rights questions. For example, we do not even have, as yet, an adequate history of the federal Bill of Rights. Until recently legal scholars and political scientists usually treated the law of civil rights as a branch of general constitutional law, and much of it was overshadowed by the preoccupation with traditional issues relating to the nature of the federal union, particularly commerce and fiscal questions.

But as a consequence of the strains arising from the "cold war," scholarly interest in civil rights has quickened, and some gaps in our knowledge are receiving attention. Political science departments and law schools have begun to offer survey courses and seminars on civil liberties law and problems. Some civil rights guarantees, such as the privilege against self-incrimination, are being explored in depth, and incisive writing on free speech questions is piling up rapidly. Perhaps most significant has been the development of a substantial literature on the problems of racial discrimination, stimulated, of course, by the great controversy over school desegregation.

The books under review, all published recently, testify to the concern of contemporary scholars and publicists with the state of our civil rights and liberties. These books were written at various levels of discourse, from different points of view, and with a variety of methods. At least two of them, those by Greenberg and Flexner, are major works of scholarship. Gellhorn's book is a broad survey for the general reader. On the other hand, Mayers' book is a searching inquiry into a single constitutional privilege of a largely technical character. Meiklejohn's book is a philosophical inquiry, whereas Fiske's study and much of *The Eavesdroppers* embody primary empirical data. Blanshard's book is largely polemical, but Banton's study of racial attitudes is rooted in first-rate sociological analysis. Caughey's book on the place of the mob in American history is a documentary. In short, in this collection of books there is something for every taste.

The lay reader who wants a general survey of the present legal content of civil rights will find Gellhorn's *American Rights* just what he has been looking for. The author, who is Betts Professor of Law at Columbia, combines impeccable scholarship with felicitous writing. I have been reading his publications for years, and I have concluded that he is simply incapable of being dull. In this new book he surveys the law dealing with habeas corpus, fair criminal procedures, freedom both to speak and not to speak, legislative investigations, freedom of movement, and desegregation. A final chapter on "private governments" does not quite jell. While Gellhorn focuses attention on the law as declared by the courts, he makes it perfectly clear that the major responsibility for retaining our freedoms rests primarily with the American people themselves. The Supreme Court cannot itself decree the preservation of our freedom, though its contribution is not to be minimized.

Greenberg's *Race Relations and American Law* is, in my judgment, the best scholarly book yet to appear on this subject. The author is assistant counsel to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, and was one of the lawyers who argued the school segregation cases before the U.S. Supreme Court. This is a well-written, well-researched, and fully annotated survey of American law in the major areas of race relations: public accommodations and services, interstate travel, elections, employment, education, housing, criminal law, domestic relations, and the armed forces. The documentation is impressive and the materials assembled in the appendices are invaluable. Lawyers and scholars will find this book useful, and the layman will find it instructive and

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RACE RELATIONS AND AMERICAN LAW, by Jack Greenberg. Columbia University Press. 481 pp. $10.

AMERICAN RIGHTS, by Walter Gellhorn. Macmillan. 232 pp. $4.50.

POLITICAL FREEDOM, by Alexander Meiklejohn. Harper. 166 pp. $3.50.

THE EAVESDROPPERS, by Samuel Dash, Robert E. Knowlton, and Richard F. Schwartz. Rutgers University Press. 484 pp. $6.50.

SHALL WE AMEND THE FIFTH AMENDMENT?, by Lewis Mayers. Harper. 341 pp. $5.

GOD AND MAN IN WASHINGTON, by Paul Blanshard. Beacon Press. 251 pp. $3.50.

BOOK SELECTION AND CENSORSHIP, by Marjorie Fiske. University of California Press. 145 pp. $3.75.

WHITE AND COLOURED, by Michael Banton. Rutgers University Press. 223 pp. $4.

THEIR MAJESTIES THE MOB, by John W. Caughey. University of Chicago Press. 214 pp. $5.

CENTURY OF STRUGGLE: THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, by Eleanor Flexner. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 384 pp. $6.

readable. On the whole, the author is optimistic about the future, believing that "the legal tide opposing racial distinctions is clear and strong," and that "it shows no sign of receding."

The Eavesdroppers is also the best book yet to appear on its subject. Samuel Dash, the senior author, is a Philadelphia lawyer with a large experience in and out of the government in the criminal law field. His contribution, which covers well over three-fifths of the book, surveys actual practices, particularly wiretapping, in selected large cities. His data are based upon on-the-spot interviews with all sorts of people ranging from police officials and public prosecutors to lawyers, judges, manufacturers of equipment, and convicts. Whether local law forbids or imposes controls on wiretapping, he found that the police everywhere resort to wiretapping, and defend it as a valuable tool. He also finds that it is everywhere a corrupting influence, since it breeds the police shakedown and involves the buying off of telephone company employees. Richard F. Schwartz, a development engineer who teaches in Philadelphia, contributes a section on how wiretapping is actually done. The third section, by Robert E. Knowlton, who teaches at the Rutgers Law School, is a fine analysis of the law of the subject, fully explained and annotated. It is hardly necessary to note that as decent men the authors agree with Justice Holmes' dictum that eavesdropping is a dirty business.

Meiklejohn's book reprints his famous Walgreen lectures at the University of Chicago, first published in 1948, to which are added some miscellaneous papers written between 1948 and 1958 dealing with academic, intellectual, and other freedoms. Meiklejohn purports to believe that First Amendment freedom of speech is an absolute: "Congress shall make *no* law . . ." But since he is a sensible man, he also recognizes the propriety of laws forbidding libelous and slanderous speech or words inciting to crime. In order to square the latter with the former, he makes a distinction between the abridging of speech, which is permissible, and abridging the freedom of speech, which is not. I have always regarded this distinction as far-fetched, and I cannot believe that it adds much to the debate on the limits of free speech.

I think the traditional explanation which balances one interest against another is a better approach to the problem. In order to squeeze his basic distinction into the Constitution, Meiklejohn invents still another distinction, between the liberty of speech guaranteed by the First Amendment, which is absolute, and the liberty of speech implicit in the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, which is only relative. So far as I know, this distinction is wholly unknown to American constitutional law interpretation, and I suspect that it is just as well. But I should add that Meiklejohn has been one of the giants of civil liberties in our times, and he says in this book many wise things about intellectual freedom. His testimony before the Hennings Subcommittee in November, 1955, on the meaning of the First Amendment, here reprinted, is a gem.

Miss Flexner's *Century of Struggle* is our first adequate, scholarly history of the woman's rights movement in the United States. A product of enormous research, the book tells a rather full story in lively fashion. Three things stand out in this chronicle: the surpassing significance of access to education, organization, and securing the right to vote as the central keys to the acquisition by women of first-class citizenship. Some day the history of Negro rights will be written in much the same terms.

Michael Banton, an English sociologist, analyzes in *White and Coloured* the behavior of the British people towards colored immigrants. The key to the analysis is found in the fact that Britons view the colored man as a stranger to their customary way of life, "the archetypal stranger." This book is a nice combination of modern scientific sociology and the English essayist tradition.

Miss Fiske is concerned in her pioneering study, *Book Selection and Censorship*, with the effects of recent national moods upon librarians, so far as their selection of books is concerned. To find her data she and her assistants interviewed about three hundred librarians in twenty-six selected communities in California. What turns up is an engrossing commentary on the state of mind of the contemporary librarian who must live with community pressures, and who generally, though not always, yields consciously or unconsciously to such pressures when buying controversial books.

Lewis Mayers, a professor of law at the City College of New York, has written a competent, objective, nonsentimental, survey of the Fifth Amendment guaranty against compulsory self-incrimination. He emphasizes the wide variety of situations in which the privilege is claimed. The answer to the question, "Shall we amend the Fifth Amendment?" is "yes" and "no." He would be scrupulously careful to safeguard the right for run-of-the-mill defendants accused of crime. But he would deny it to people occupying public offices or other positions of public or private trust when questioned regarding their trust.

Professor Caughey's book, *Their Majesties the Mob*, is a fascinating collection of documents dealing with the vigilante impulse in America from early frontier days to the time of McCarthy. His introductory essay on the significance of vigilantism in American history is extremely well done.

As for *God and Man in Washington*, Paul Blanshard is playing his same old record. This one is for the election trade.

A Masterpiece on Judicial Review

THE PEOPLE AND THE COURT: JUDICIAL REVIEW IN A DEMOCRACY, by Charles L. Black, Jr. Macmillan. 231 pp. $5.

Reviewed by
Charles Bunn

WHEN THE EDITOR of *The Progressive* asked me to review this book I almost turned him down. Another book about the Supreme Court! By another law professor! How many can one take?

Having now read it with some care, I can report the answer: However many you have read, and however bored you think you are with the whole subject, this one is a must. For this one is a masterpiece.

That does not mean that it is all brand new. The main thesis that it

argues was urged by Alexander Hamilton, enacted by the first Congress, decided by John Marshall, and has been part of our constitutional system ever since. The advantage which we have over Hamilton and Marshall and all the other founders is that we know more than they did of the institutions they created, for we can see now how they have worked for 170 years.

This book fully develops that advantage. It examines the institution of judicial review from the vantage point of today, looking not only at what the founders said about it but at what the country has done about it, and at what it has done and not done for the country ever since, and is capable of doing now.

Black is not doubtful what that is, nor that it is important. The success of any government, he shows, depends on the general acceptance of its legitimate actions *as* legitimate. In a government whose powers are limited that means that someone must have power and duty to decide in doubtful cases whether disputed action *is* legitimate. That someone, if its answers are to be accepted, must be separated far enough from the organ exercising the disputed power so that its consideration is accepted as impartial, and must have power also to say "No," as well as "Yes." It is a sort of miracle to find, within a government, an organ that can exercise that function. The American people have found it in their courts; until something surely better is invented they had better continue the arrangement.

"We have learned," Black notes, "that law is not precise and automatic in its expounding and application. If we believe this has rendered untenable the very concept of law as opposed to mere administration, let us frankly say so, and cease to talk about 'law' in cases of every description, for the insight applies just as well to other cases as to constitutional cases. If we believe, on the other hand, that the concept of law is a good star to guide on, even though it is not tacked to the glassy celestial sphere of certainty, we can continue the assent which our ancestors gave to the work of the institution which they devised for subjecting the government to its own law."

I think this is an absolutely first rate book.

APPEAL FROM THE SOUTH

for the

- **Student Defense Fund of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference**
- **Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr.**
- **Registration and Voting Crusade in the South**

Dear Friend,

In recent weeks three developments have combined to create a civil rights crisis of historic depth and magnitude:

First, Southern Negro students have launched a mass offensive that is cracking the walls of segregation. Their courageous and non-violent spirit has awed millions and given a new dignity to the cause of freedom. In retaliation, the Southern racists have expelled them from schools, arrested and jailed them, denied them bail, and visited violence upon them.

Second, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has launched a crusade to bring over a million new Negro voters into the 1960 Presidential elections, threatening the political power of the Dixiecrats.

Third, as the student sit-ins and voting crusade struggled on with grim determination, the State of Alabama, with calculation and on obviously false charges, indicted Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the historic Montgomery Bus Protest, for perjury.

What is the purpose of this sinister indictment? It seeks to destroy leaders indigenous to the South to whom the students are looking for support and guidance, and to cripple the voting crusade now under way. Because of Dr. King's importance to these struggles the Dixiecrats are determined to jail him.

To defend themselves and to continue their assault on Jim Crow, Southern Negroes—especially the students—cry out for moral and material support. They face a fanatical and unscrupulous enemy. Their only real allies are those whose dedication to democracy is uncompromising. Your help is urgently needed **now!**

Please send your contribution today.

Sincerely,
BERNARD LEE, President
Montgomery Student Protest Movement

REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH, Secretary
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, Treasurer
Voting and Registration Crusade

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Chairman
Committee to Defend Martin Luther King

HARRY BELAFONTE **DAISY BATES** **NORMAN THOMAS**
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Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
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New York 27, New York

Enclosed please find my contribution of $..... for the Combined Emergency Appeal.

Enclosed please find $..... which I am lending to the Revolving Bail Fund of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, to be used for students and others arrested in the struggle. It is my understanding that this money is 100% returnable at any time upon request.

Unions in Action

UNIONS AND UNION LEADERSHIP: THEIR HUMAN MEANING, by Jack Barbash. Harper. 346 pp. $6.

Reviewed by

Gus Tyler

WHEN THE OPPONENTS of the Landrum-Griffin bill were making their last futile stand in Congress, Senator Wayne Morse threatened to read a three-volume history of the American labor movement to the Senate. Savants speculated that he had the classic study by John R. Commons in mind. To read it in full would have taken several solid weeks, a mighty filibuster but hardly a weighty argument to what would have been an empty house. Morse abandoned the idea.

Should the same or similar situation recur, however, some worthy benefactor might render a national service by providing each member of Congress with a copy of *Unions and Union Leadership,* a collection of articles selected and edited by Jack Barbash, a seasoned student of labor now on the faculty of the University of Wisconsin. For the Barbash book continues the great tradition of the Wisconsin School established by Commons and his associates—a tradition that has dedicated itself to understanding American labor unions and articulating their unspoken philosophy.

What distinguished the Wisconsin School was the attempt of a group of high-minded intellectuals not to devise but to divine a labor movement, not to oversee but to understand the unions, not to invent preachments but to investigate practices. The Wisconsin group employed the known instruments of social research to present an objective and comprehensive analysis of the origins, developments, and purposes of the American trade unions. This search for what *was* and what *is,* rather than theory about what *ought to be,* is the most enduring contribution of the Commons' school, overshadowing any single major theory that may, in subsequent years, have been advanced by the individual "associates."

Barbash continues the tradition. His book provides insights into the labor movement by shifting its focus from the *genus* labor to the trade unions and their leaders as human elements. Through this device, the labor unions are revealed as multi-rooted, multi-hued, multi-faceted organisms.

The tie with the Commons' school is established in the first three essays written by Selig Perlman, Philip Taft, and David J. Saposs, all three of whom were "associates" in the preparation of the original Wisconsin classic. These giants among the labor historians, together with George Brooks, J. B. S. Hardman, Daniel Bell, and Kenneth E. Boulding, bring up to date the evolution of labor in the past few decades, describing new formations arising far less from the ideologies of individual leaders than from the environmental pressures of American civilization.

The second section presents leadership types from George Meany, an "honest plumber," down to Johnny Dio, "no ordinary hoodlum." While the human touch is present in all seven of these fast-flowing pieces, out of each profile issues a *concept* of unionism, always an amalgam of personality traits, social ideals or lack thereof, and stark necessity. In a wise choice of selections, Barbash gives as much space to an organizer and to a business agent as to Walter Reuther or David Dubinsky.

The third section—the hard core of the book—covers typical, though varied, situations: steel, rubber, clothing, printers, municipal employees, office workers, building trades, packing house, railroads, maritime, mines, and the Marathon Corporation with its seven different unions. In each of these cases, the union format—contract, structure, stance—is as varied as the industry. In selecting these readings, Barbash has been guided by his own vast experience as practitioner and scholar.

While conscientiously trying to describe the unions as they are, Barbash inserts enough material to indicate that just because certain practices and institutions exist, it does not follow that what exists is *ipso facto* good. Labor's problems—in relation to industrialist, society, and self—are not glossed over.

The fourth section of the book deals with "conflict situations," and the fifth with "some special union problems," such as politics, automation, technology, racketeering, and segregation. These problems are not only stated frankly but presented maturely as the problems of human organisms, composed of average men dogged by sin and fallibility, trying to survive and succeed in a baffling and frustrating environment. It is this mature quality that makes the book neither an assault nor an apologia, and more than justifies its subtitle, the "human meaning."

This remarkable collection of mature insights into the American trade unions solves no problems and proposes no answers, but it does provide the necessary approaches to all those who seek solutions and proposals that would strengthen labor as a pillar of American life.

Recent Fiction

by Susan Brady

CONSTANT READER has been in a frightful funk these days, almost defeated by the thought of going through those piles of books—all with jazzy covers and hyperbolic flap copy—to find one of quality. Alone in my study, I pray for an end to the pestilence of mediocrity that is upon us. Just as I was about to fall into the blackest despair, I read Alan Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long-Distance Runner* (New York. Alfred A. Knopf, $3.50), a collection of nine good-to-excellent short stories by the author of *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning.* Mr. Sillitoe, who may be one of those Angry Young Men we hear so much about, writes with skill, intelligence, humor and passion—an unbeatable combination. The title story is brilliant; it should be widely read.

After finishing the books officially for review, I picked up *The Beats* (Gold Seal Books, Fawcett, 35 cents), an original anthology edited by Seymour Krim. It is a splendid collection of prose and poetry by or about the beat generation, which in this case seems to include those considered "with it" by the author. The old standbys (Kerouac, Ginsberg, Ferlinghetti, Burroughs) are represented, along with such off-beat types as Chandler Brossard. I haven't read such an exciting paperback original since the early days of *New World Writing.*

Of the other books up for review, I can give only a half-hearted rec-

Chester Bowles for President?

(Two Open Letters Relevant to this Question)

To the Honorable Chester Bowles:

You have said that you "have never sought and do not intend to seek the Presidential nomination," and that you enthusiastically support John Kennedy as his adviser on foreign policy. You have asked "that no organized efforts be made" on your behalf.

While we respect this position just as we respect your honest and forward-looking positions on all public issues, we feel that the time has come when some effort must be made on your behalf. We hope we will not embarrass you; but if you will not put your name forward some one must do it for you.

We respect your support of Kennedy, for, like you, we admire him as a particularly able candidate for the Democratic nomination. But there are many fine candidates, and with the party so divided we need a great leader like you—whom all candidates admire and would support—to unite us. It is for this reason that we are seeking support to put your name before the people.

Citizens for Bowles

To the American People:

Many groups and individuals support Chester Bowles for the Presidency. They support Bowles because of his wide experience as head of O.P.A., Governor of Connecticut, Ambassador to India, and Congressman. They know that Bowles has travelled widely and carefully considered the problems of today. As lecturer and as author of six books Bowles has outlined his program for meeting those problems. His is a new program which does not rest on tired slogans and old solutions. It is a program that looks forward to solving our economic, social, and racial problems with justice and self respect for all. It is a program of leadership in a troubled world—leadership which Bowles is especially qualified to give.

This letter urges the American people to join us in backing Chester Bowles, and it urges those who already back him to help put his name before the country. We want to know of your interest in Bowles for the Presidency so we can make known the widespread support he already has, and we want to raise money to increase that support. You can help by filling in the coupon below and sending it in. (Send a postcard if you don't want to clip the magazine.)

Citizens for Bowles

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Box 2652-Y. Station
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ommendation to Jean Cayrol's *Foreign Bodies* (New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons, $3.50), the baffling confessions of an unregenerate liar who has just murdered (did he really?) his wife (or is it his mistress?). The novel is interesting and at times amusing, even if you don't take the time to search for the needles of truth. The translation from the French is up to Richard Howard's usual high standards.

Briefly Noted

The Disinherited (Alfred A. Knopf, $3.95) by Michel del Castillo—a plague-on-both-your-houses denunciation of the Spanish Civil War. Discussions of religion and Communism, with the issues defined with first-reader simplicity, alternate with scenes of poverty and degradation. Mr. del Castillo was three years old in 1936.

From the Hand of the Hunter (Houghton Mifflin Company, $3.75) by John Braine—A sick-making novel of life in a tuberculosis sanatarium by the author of *Room at the Top*. This critic almost "went mental" reading it.

An American Romance (Simon and Schuster, $3.50) by Hans Koningsberger—Koningsberger's second novel (his first was *The Affair*) is an embarrassingly autobiographical story of a disastrous marriage. If nothing else, it proves that the best advice a mother can give her daughter is "Never wed a writer: if it works, you'll end up typing his manuscript; if it doesn't, he'll put you in his next novel."

Paperback Plums

by William McCann

STUDENTS of American history must be pleased that paperback publishers, happily motivated perhaps by both profit and patriotism, continue to bring out a good variety of books on the subjects of their interest. Some of these works may appeal exclusively to the scholarly specialist, but many will interest the general reader. Here is a sampling of titles now in print:

The Confederacy, A Social and Political History in Documents, edited by Albert D. Kirwan (Meridian. $1.45)

The Longhorns, by J. Frank Dobie. Illustrated by Tom Lea (Universal. $1.25)

Jonathan Edwards, by Perry Miller (Meridian. $1.45)

The First American Revolution, by Clinton Rossiter (Harvest. $1.25)

The Transit of Civilization, From England to America in the Seventeenth Century, by Edward Eggleston. (Beacon. $1.95)

The History of the Five Indian Nations, Depending on the Province of New York in America, by Cadwallader Colden (Great Seal. $1.75)

The Puritan Oligarchy, The Founding of American Civilization, by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker (Universal. 95 cents)

The Puritan Mind, by Herbert W. Schneider (Ann Arbor. $1.85)

The Articles of Confederation, An Interpretation of the Social-Constitutional History of the American Revolution, 1774-1781, by Merrill Jensen (University of Wisconsin Press. $1.65)

The American Adam, Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century, by R.W.B. Lewis (Phoenix. $1.35)

Immigration as a Factor in American History, edited by Oscar Handlin (Prentice-Hall. $1.95)

The American Experience, by Henry Bamford Parkes (Vintage. $1.25)

Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650, by Perry Miller (Beacon. $1.95)

The Price of Power: America Since 1945, by Herbert Agar (University of Chicago Press. $1.75)

The American Mind, by Henry Steele Commager (Yale University Press. $1.45)

Transcendentalism in New England, by Octavius Brooks Frothingham (Harper Torchbooks. $1.75)

The American Way, by Dexter Perkins (Great Seal. $1.45)

A Stillness at Appomattox, by Bruce Catton (Pocket Books. 50 cents)

Antislavery Origins of the Civil War in the United States, by Dwight Lowell Dumond (Ann Arbor. $1.65)

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THE TWO FACES of Richard Nixon—by Guy W. Finney—the Big Doubt about him—Factual, Revealing! 42 pages of timely reading. 50 cents per copy—ERA BOOKS, Box 112, Tocula Sta., No. Hollywood, Calif.

THE OPEN MIND—A new, militant, and informative monthly magazine for atheists, agnostics, freethinkers, humanists, liberals, rationalists, and other open-minded people. $1 per year. Book list included. The Secular Society of America, 32 Pleasant Avenue, Belleville 9, N.J.

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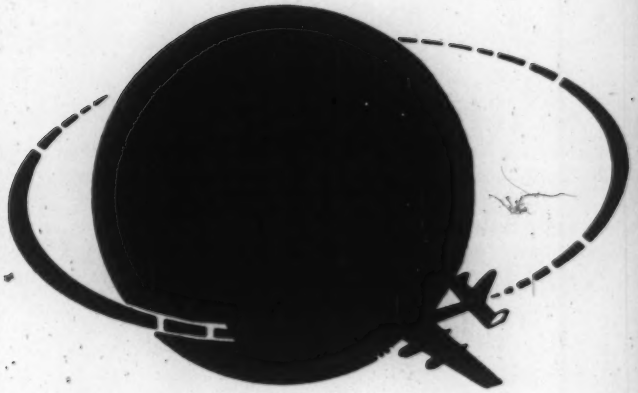

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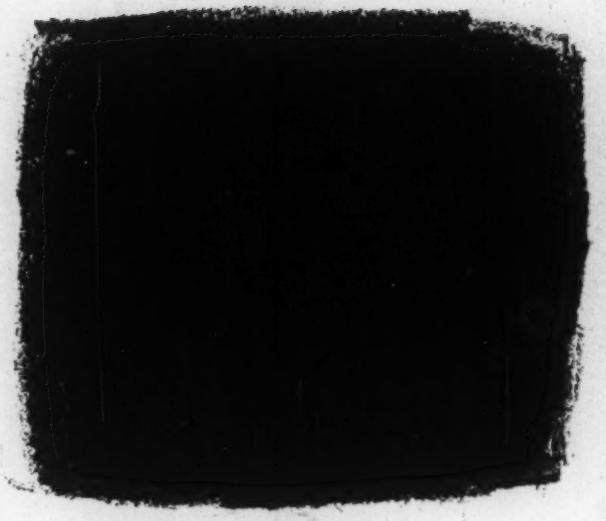

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